H.F.M 46

TYPE SCRIPTS OF
NEWS PAPERS ARTICLES
FROM 1914 to 1915
PAGES 1727 to 234[illegible]

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been used in this country. We can appreciate what underlies the smoothing of our path to Nationhood and self-government Nationhood which is already attained and self-government for which we are fit and ready.

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428. Queer politics.

(Dated 10th January,,1917, Page 85, Para 18.)

In an article under this heading, New India, of the 10th January, states:--One of the most astonishing things in the political world is the way in which Englishmen, with regard to India, trample upon every principle on which the glory and fame of England rest. They have constantly proclaimed that taxation without representation is robbery yet in India they tax without consent or approval by the people. They assert the sacredness of treaties, but in India treat them as scraps of paper. They glorify nations which claim their freedom but for India to claim freedom is sedition. They blame continental nations for treating political prisoners as common criminals, but treat political prisoners in India worse than ordinary felons. They declare that no man should be deprived of his liberty without trial, but in India maintain the infamous Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827. They say in their Magna Carta, their Petition of Rights, their Bill of Rights, that there should be no forfeitures without trial but in India allow the King's representatives to forfeit by their mere order. And the strange thing is that the Englishman seems to be utterly unconscious of his own inconsistency, and deceives himself into the monstrous belief that Indians prefer his benevolent despotism to the management of their own affairs. He fatuously repeats certain shibboleths about Oriental tyranny, and law and order, and Pax Britannica,and hugs

and hugs himself natively in a dream of his own superiority, unconscious of the growing distrust and discontent which are rising around him in ever-increasing volume. Bal Gangadhar Tilak has been robbed of seven and a half years of life by English law, and wherever he goes he is met by thousands of enthusiastic Indians, who pour out upon him a veritable adoration, in their passionate gratitude for the sufferings he has undergone to put an end to the benevolent despotism. Surely the reception given to him in the Congress by the pick of educated India should teach the English that Indians regard as a glory that which they punish as a crime. The more they seek to degrade, the more will India crown."

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429. The Round Table and India.

(Dated 15th January, 1917, Page ~~25~~ 128, Para 22.)

The following appears in New India of the 15th January:--

"The Great Delusion.

"And saying she would ne'er consent
"Consented.

"Thus acts the Madras Mail. It is not particularly concerned with Mrs.Besant but so many other quarters act much as she does that despite the Madras Mail's having finished Mrs.Besant off some months ago, it returns to her over and over again. The article with the above title is a clever and interesting attempt to misrepresent both the work of Mr.Curtis, and the position to which it is proposed to consign India, by carefully chosen fragments of his writings and equally careful ommission, while, by the reversal of

responsibility, the assailed are made the assailants. It is the rule in India that Government servants must not take part in political movements, and so Government servant may speak or wr ite in favour of Home Rule. Yet the Acting Inspector-General of Police in the United procinces is the centre of information for the Round Table political movement in India, and he, with the Leiutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, shares the responsibility of the letter issued by Mr.Curtis. This letter, which has been revised in detail by them, may be taken as representing our joint view. So says Mr.Curtis. If this statement is untrue, the high officials concerned should repudiate it. If it is true, the fact that they did not intend their action to be known does not excuse it. The very gorss political scandal is not in the exposure of the action taken, but in the action itself. Mr.Curtis is perfectly free ro carry on a political propaganda. Sir James Meston and Mr.Marris are not.

"It appears to us that the extreme anger shown by the Anglo-Indian press is that of foiled conspirators rather than of gentlemen working frankly in a public question. If they are doing good work why blush to find it fame? If they are doing illegitimate work, the fury is intelligible. May illegitimate work be screened from public knowledge by writing private on the latter? The Government opens really private letters of many public men; the Censor opens letters containing family affairs, appeals for advice revealing private troubles and needs; it is done for the safety of the public, is the answer."

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430. Indentured labour,

(Dated 18th January, 1916, Page 131, Para 24.)

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New India, of the 17th January remarks:--It is admitted on all hands that the system of indentured labour is only a covert form of slavery, and yet the pressure put upon the Government by their white subjects is so strong that they have actually announced that this abominable system is to continue with Fiji for another five years, that is, that under the Union Jack the slavery of men and women is to continue, with the added horror of the deliberate dishonouring of women, by sending woemn out in the proportion of one woman to three men. And this is to go on for five years more, because presumably, it is inconvenient for the Fiji planters to be deprived of their coloured labour. The slavery of the men, however scandalous as it is, is not so frightful as the consignment to dishonour of the women. Christian England, her Christian Government, sanction, nay compel, polyandry in its worst form. What do the Government expect the odd two men out of three to do? The coolies can hardly be expected to have reached a stage of self-control unknown to any civilised white community. The presence of the Eurasians in India shows how the English traders solved the question here when there was a deficiency of white women. Are the coolies to solve it in similar fashion in Fiji, with the colours of father and mother reversed? The village coolie woman is not a woman of the bazaars, deliberately leading a life of prostitution. She is a decent creature, with Indian modesty and chastity ingrained in her nature, and she is lured away from her village and flung into this hell. Surely the Government will rescind their order and abolish this vile system intolerable to India and disgraceful to England. Let members of the Government think how they would feel if white women were sent out

with whitex men in the proportion of one to three, to serve as indentured labourers under coloured planters. The very ~~ideal~~ idea would cause in them a feeling of indignant revolt; yet why should it be less revolting when the colours are reversed?

Apart from the horror of the thing itself, the disgrace and the injury affects the whole of India and degrades it in the eyes of the Empire at large. The Dominions know of India only the indentured coolies, and they judge India by them, and think of India as a nation of coolies, a primitive community incapable of self-government. Englishmen who have held office in the dominions are forced upon us, and come with their ingrained prepossessions and prejudices, and they grate upon us at every step. How many of our Governors, to say nothing of our present Viceroy, have graduated in Colonial offices! It is not their fault, but their and our misfortune, that they come to us from these narrow-minded and ignorant dominions--dominions of lower culture, courtesy and habits than England, and bring with them views on the coloured races acquired there. Let India stop this indentured labour and insist on the immediate carrying out of its abolition. Let recruiting agencies be made illegal, and let foreign countries solve their own labour problems without the help of Indians. Indians have no duty to solve them by the slavery of their men, the dishonour of their women, and the degradation of their motherland in the eyes of the world."

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431. Australia and New India.

(Dated 16th January, 1917, Page 133, Para 29.)

New India, of the 16th January, has the following:--The Democracy in Australia as in England has been roused to a sense of the misgovernment of India by the action taken by the Government of Madras against New India. A Labour paper says--

Mrs. Annie Besant is one of the latest victims of the inate fear of freedom of the press that goes with military rule. The Government of Madras has called upon her to deposite security of good behaviour in respect of New India--the paper which, since last summer, has been the chief organ of the Home Rule for India League--to the tune of Rs.2,000. In paying over the money, Mrs.Besant pointed out that there was a denial of natural justice to her, in that the Government had not intimated any specific cause of complaint against the paper, and she was therefore without knowledge of her supposed offence.

Nothing is so likely to force free countries into a recognition of India's grievances as our cruel Press Act, for that is so thoroughly intelligible and simple".

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432. The Government of the Central Provinces and Mrs. Besant.

(Dated 16th January, 1917, Page 133, Para 30.)

New India, of the 16th January, states:--It is pleasant to hear that the Western Federation of the Theosophical Society in Scotland has carried a resolution of protest against the action of the Central Provinces Government.

Scotland is ever faithful to religious liberty. She has suffered to win it in the past so bitterly that she sympathises with those who suffer at the hands of the petty persecutors of to-day. Lovers of freedom are everywhere with us."

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433. Conscription for Europeans in India.

(Dated 17th January, 1917, Page 134, Para 32.)

New India, of the 17th January, writes:--The country has not yet been informed of even the trend of discussion concerning the rumoured conscription of Europeans in India. All the information now available comes from semi-official sources like the Pioneer and the Englishman. The latter has just given prominent insertion to a letter where it is said that all the available men will not be conscribed. We are further told they will form a great asset to the Empire. The Europeans will then be doing their utmost to help the Empire in this time of dire trial, but also to safeguard our position in this country. (Italics are ours.) What else does he mean than that the Europeans so trained will be needed to keep order in India itself? Is that the regard this country is to get for her loyal services in the present war?

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434. India and the Empire.

(Dated 18th January, 1917, Page 135, Para 34.)

New India, of the 18th January, writes:--The representation of India in the Empire continues to provoke much

discussion, and the question ia admittedly one of much perplexity. India presents new problems, and though the Empire cannot exist without her, her presence in the Imperial Council presents a mass of difficulties. The most ~~reactionary would have her representes a mass~~ of ~~difficulties~~. The most reactionary would have her represented by the Secretary of State for India, a manifestly absurd proposal, since the Secretary for India is not chosen with any view of his fitness for the office, but merely of his suiting the political necessities of party at westminister.

~~Mr.xAustenxChamxxblxx~~ Mr.Austen Chamberlain was dumped into the office because no other place could be found for him; and even in the late shuffling he was left there, despite his manifested ignorance of India and conseqent incompetence for the office. Obviously the current Secretary would be a representative pour rire in the Imperial council. If the reconstruction of the Empire is not to drive India to despair, Home Rule must be granted as part of the reconstruction. Only as a free nation can she safely enter the Imperial Council. To enter it as dependency means to place her under the yoke of the Colonies, to ensure her being drained for the benefit of the Empire in which she is not a citizen."

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435. <u>The Government of Madras and the press.</u>

(Da ted 18th January, 1917, Page 136, Para 35.)

In commenting on the portions of the report on the administration of the Madras Presidency in 1915-16, dealing with periodicals and political agitation, New India, of the 18th January says:--Perhaps the Government do not admit every word that is traced by the pen of the writen of this

report; else it would be a source of relief to knowx that the Government and the bureaucracy are different. As to the other changes against New India, we leave the readers to judge for themselves; but this much we would ask: Do the Government desire it to be assumed that the press represents Indian opinion only in war articles? What makes them lose their representative character in regard to other writings? If nothing does, are we to assueme that a number of readers commensurate with the circulation of this journal when compared to that of others showed marked hostility to Government to the bureaucracy" to the Anglo-Indian community and to Christian Missionaries?

"It is a little amusing that while the Madras Government took the above view of New India, a high authority wrote to its editor thanking her for her most useful articles on the war. If the press can be taken as the mouth-piece of its readers, the people of the presidency only but of the whole of India, as was seen when the Government provoked a storm by the imposition of security on the paper. The Administration Report also contains the following paragraph:--

The year was marked by a considerable increase in political agitation, conducted on novel lines. These were frankly racial and every effort was made by destortion of history as well as of contemporary facts to stir up till will against the Government and against the European community. Fortunately the good sense of the people generally condemned these violent attacks, but a movement so conducted must continue to be a serious source of danger and to have a bad effect, especially on the student population.

"This also reads oddly in the light of later events, since the good sense of the people has so fully endorsed the novel lines of the political agitation.

The Great Congress of Lucknow has set on it the seal of India's approval, and nothing can undo what has been done. It is not wise, on the whole, in times of rapid change, to write before March 1916 passages which December, 1916 disproves.

"People have become so accustomed to these charges that they rarely attract any notice at present. They are never substantiated; and so long as that is not done, it is waste of time to give them any notice. The Government have not been pleased also to tell us in what way the good sense of the people found expression. At political gatherings? In the Indian section of the press? We know, of course, that Government officials detest New India and all its works. The Congress of 1916 and the change of tone in the Indian press are their justification".

436, Hindus and Missionary schools.

(Dated 24th January, 1917, Page 182, Para 4.)

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New India, of the 24th January, writes:--Mr.Strachey (sic) the Sub-Collector of Conjeevaram, made some very rude remarks to the Conjeevaram public with regard to the Mission School there. He accused the people of being heartless for not helping the Rev.Mr.Machan to pay off the deficit of Rs.9,000 on his school, and said it would be a standing shame to them if they did not pay it off. But why should Hindus pay for the perversion of their sons? The right answer to these insults is to withdraw their sons from the school. Apart from this, is a Government officer allowed to beg for a Mission school, and use his offical position to get money out of the people over whom he is set? We

were under the impression that such official pressure was wholly illegitimate, and Mr.Strachey's (sic) missionary zeal should be checked."

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437. <u>The Hon'ble Mr.V.S.Srinivasa Sastri on self-Government</u>

(Dated 20th January, 1917, Para 13, Page 188.)

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New India, of the 20th January, observes:--The Hon'ble Mr.V.S.Srinivasa Sastri, in his valuable booklet on self-Government, remarks on the condition of Canada before self-government was granted, and points out that the evils were put an end to by throwing on the Canadians the responsibility of managing their own affairs. A more unpromising subject for responsible Government could hardly have been found. Canada had an elected Legislature but an Executive appointed by the Crown. How all the wise-acres must have prophesied disaster when it was proposed to give this ignorant distracted country, with both Upper and Lower Canada in armed revolt, reponsible Government. What pictures of ruin, of confusion twoice confounded, of chaos come again, must have been drawn. What lurid descriptions of Red Indian raids, of scalps taken, of women violated, of theasure looted--not a dollar nor a virgin left, must have poured forth. Yet the English nationl loyal to liberty as it showed so splendidly during the nineteenth century--recognised that the root of all the evils lay in a Government not responsible to the people; that ignorance, the absence of local self-government, bad administration, backward trade, an unsatisfactory system of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~of~~ justice were defects crying aloud to be mended, and only to be mended by the grant of Home Rule. ~~Cxxxxx~~ Canada was not fit for self-government, but she would become

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fit by self-government. History has magnificently vindicated Britain's trust in liberty. Would to God that she would send to India a Lord Durham. Once her womb was fertile of such sons. Has she become barren, or capable of bearing only timid weaklings?"

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438. <u>Two methods of Home Rule.</u>

(Dated 22nd January, 1917, Page 189, Para 17.)

New India, of the 22nd January, remarks:--There are obviously two main methods in which reforms in the relations between India and England may be brought about:--

"I. The method of gradual and progressive improvement; by the establishment of free and compulsory education; the repeal of bad laws; the removal of racial distinctions in the Public Services, including the insistence on passing examinations in England for the Indian Civil Service, the Medical Service, and the legal profession, in order to gain a position in India better than can be reached by corresponding examinations here at home; the opening of all offices civil, military and naval to Indians, and the giving of preference to them, in their own country, over Englishmen of equal qualifications; the transfer of education to Indian hands; the ineligibility of Civilians for Legislative Councils; the election of all members of Legislative Councils, and of local bodies; the separation of Executive and Judicial functions, and, therefore, the removal of the appointment of control of the lower judicial and magisterial functionaries from the Government to the High Court, etc.

II. The demand for the establishment by Parliament of Home Rule for British India, such establishment to form

part of the promised reconstruction of the Empire after the war.

"We advocate the second method, because the first has been tried for 32 years, with the result that instead of enjoying wider freedom, we are suffering under increasing repression, and have lost much of the liberty we previously possessed; the Arms Act has not yet been repealed, though Indians had the right to carry arms for twenty years after the sepoy revolt, and were gratuitously deprived of that right without cause shown in 1878. It is a standing badge of the racial inferiority of all pure-blooded Indians, an implication that if they had arms they would rise in revolt, a continual proof of distrust. The Regulations of 1818, 1819, and 1827 are unrepealed, and have been confirmed by the State Prisoners Acts of 1850 and 1858, and are now enforced with a frequency hitherto unknown, and under these men are seized, imprisoned and deported without trial, verdict, or sentence, reviving the infamous system of the lettre-de-cachet in pre-revolutionary France, arousing dangerous hatred against the Government, and resort to revolutionary violence. The Madras District Police Act, 1859, and the Police Act, 1861, forcing men to become special constables on the apprehension of any police inspector, and imposing punitive police at the cost of the inhabitants, are unrepealed. The batch of coercive ligislation, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1907, the Explosive Substances Act, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, all 1908, are still on the Statute Book. The Reformed Supreme Council, with its official majority, has not touched any one of these, while the very first Act forced through it was the Press Act of 1910, an Act which makes the carrying on of a press, according to the late Acting Chief Justice of Madras, a hazardous occupation';

moreover, under it are done the things that the Government, in 1910, promised should not be done, so that every honest Indian editor is terrorised, and the dishonest alone are safe. The Act is not enforced except against the Indian press.

"What has India gained by the Reformed Councils, lately denounced by an eminent man from his place in one of them as a farce? If we follow Method No. I, five centuries hence India will still, if existent, be a subject nation, but judging from the loss of liberty suffered during the last few years, will by that time have disappeared as a nation, since nations are only made immortal by liberty. Once Home Rule is won, everything is won; for the Indians themselves will shape their national legislation according to their own intimate knowledge of their country's needs. England's great mission will have been fulfilled; she will have lived up to her noblest traditions; hand in hand the two greatest nations of the East and West will march onwards into the future, a blessing to each other, wearing the flower-bands of love and trust, instead of the iron chains of coercion and repression."

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439. The Indian Civil Service and Home Rule.

(Dated 22nd January, 1917, Page 190, Para 18.)

New India, of the 22nd January, states:--"There would be no occasion to demand Home Rule were the present system of administration all that could be desired, that is to say, were the Civil Service really at the service of the people and definitely employed by the people until such time as they signify their readiness themselves to

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assume the responsibility of Government. Under Home Rule the actual administration may indeed for the time be less efficient than the system under which we are ruled to-day. But it will be our own administration, and the public servants will even be aware of the fact that the people sit in ultimate judgment upon them. On the other hand, certain defects inevitable under a foreign bureaucracy would cease to exist under Home Rule, and our duty to point out this fact with emphasis is responsible for much of the ill-will which separates the European bureaucaracy from the Indian democracy. It is only so long as the ruling caste considers itself the master of the sitaation that the Indian people will assert its inalienable right of dominance in no uncertain terms. But rarely has the Government of India been forced to act in accordance with public opinion. As a rule the voice of the people is as a voice crying in the wilderness, and it is this apparently studied indifference which calls India into a resistance which profoundly irritates a class of men accustomed to wild unquestioned power. We gladly recognise the good intentions of many civil servants. We unreservedly accord an ample measure of praise for the many benefits of British rule. But none are statesmen who have not the science of adaptability; none are Empire-builders who know not how to read the signs of the times, or to guide to constructive purposes the force that otherwise may spend itself in destruction and in storm."

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440. Indians in South Africa.

(Dated 22nd January, 1917, Page 191, Para 19.)

The following appears in New India of the 22nd January:--

"Marriage in South Africa.

We take the following paragraph from the Tribune. It shows the treatment to which Mussalman wives and children ~~Ex~~ are exposed in South Africa. South Africa has, of course, a Christian Government which disapproves of legal polygamy, but so has India. Yet Indian Mussalman Law is administered in India, and a wife is not turned into a mistress nor legitimate children into bastards. If the Colonies have a share in governing India, they may feel the same conscientious scruples here as in their own land."

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441. The Press Act.

(Dated 22nd January, 1917, Page 191, Para 20.)

New India, of the 22ne Januqry, remarks:--His Excellency the Viceroy is to be approached on the subject of the Press Act from India as a whole and from Madras in particular. The Press Association is to meet him early in February, and the Provincial Congress Committee has drawn up a strong memorial pointing to a request for its abolition--the only rational step--but weakening in the last words, repeal or thorough revision. What revision within the skill of man could avail to make decent the Press Act of 1910? Like the Council of the Secretary of State for India, it must be ended, not mended. As sensibly said earlier in the memorial, the laws of libel and sedition are sufficient.

The last three words must have been put in, to placate a weak brother."

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442. Educative work for Home Rule.

(Dated 25th January, 1917, Page 193, Para 25.)

In the first series of articles on this subject, in New India of the 25th January, Mrs. Annie Besant writes:-- The ignorance of the ordinary Englishman about modern India is equalled by his ignorance about ancient India; and those who write in defence of the continuance of autocracy in India are content to sling epithets at me rather than face the facts of the past, facts showing that India was far happier and more prosperous when she ruled herself than she is now when she is ruled by foreigners. It is strange that the defenders of the present system base their objections to Home Rule on their love for the masses of the population, whom they dare not hand over to their countrymen; whereas all the evidence shows that the masses were infinitely better off under the rule of their countrymen than they are now. There were occasional wars and invasions, as now in Europe, in some of which the masses suffered, though not to the degree suffered by Belgium and Serbia today; yet the former cannot be held, any more than the latter, to disqualify the descendants of the suffering people for self-government, nor to justify India, China and Japan in marching upon Europe to impose on her better Government."

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443. Indentured labour.

(Dated 31st January, 1917, Page 256, Para 4.)

The following appears in New India of the 31st January:--

"Hell.

"BY ANNIE BESANT.

"We are all morally guilty, and the Government of India is morally guilty, if we allow this system to continue. Thus spake Mr.Andrews last evening, and he spoke the truth. We ought to have waked up before, but we accepted too readily the loose promise given by Lord Hardinge, in March 1916, and we left things alone in the placid belief that they were being put right, until a rumour spread that it was likely that the accursed system of indenture was to be given another lease of life for five years. India must sp eak out and speak out at once, as she did in the case of South Africa, for we are here in face of a conditinn for which South Africa offers no parallel. In South Afroca the grossest injustices were perpetrated and insults were showered on our people, but they remained the decent living Indians that they were; excluded from trams, pushed off side-walks, their finger-prints demanded, their property confiscated, they were still upright honourable men and women. But in Fiji what is the case? Decent kindly villagers are bribed or kidnapped into five years of slavery in a foreign land; they are sent out, herded together in a crowded vessel, the unmarried men and women being in the proportion of one to three. Arrived in Fiji, they are lodged in barracks in an indescribable state of filth and misery. They live in promiscuity, or in the more respectable lines in recognised polyandry, the kindly planter sorting out so many men to each woman, on the ground that there are fewer fights, murders and suicides

under this condition than undergeneral promiscuity. And these are Indian women, in whom from time immemorial chastity has been the supreme virtue, fidelity to one man in life and through death the highest virtue, women to whom Sita and Savithri were held up from childhood as models. Men and women alike sink into the most hopeless dagradation; self-respect lost, every bond of social life destroyed, far away from home in alien surroundings, with no amusements save gambling and women the men go to pieces, the women become mere females. They become a criminal population, desperate, hopeless, helpless, degraded beyond all words. Men and women of India! Will you allow this condition of things to continue for another five years, nay, for another year? Shall not this abomination be swept away at once by the voice of an awakened people. They are our flesh and blood that is being trampled out of all human likeness. Our nation is dishonoured in the eyes of the world by these unspeakable abominations. It is ours to defend these helpless ones, else are we partakers in the crimes of those who oppress them. It is said that the planters will be ruined. Since they, for their own gain, have inflicted this unspeakable ruin upon the helpless, they will but reap the harvest they have sown. If it be a choice between a few being made bankrupt in money, or thousands being made bankrupt in honour, in decency, in all that makes life worth living, there is no choice for anyone with a human heart. Let the money, blood-stained, dishonour-stained, filthy with crime, with murder, with suicide go, and let the men, women and children be saved."

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444. The indentured labour protest meeting.

(Dated 31st January, 1917, Page 257, Para 5.)

New India, of the 31st January, has the following:-- The meeting of last night should have been called by the Sheriff of Madras in a hall where an overflow meeting could have held outside, such as the Victoria Hall, and not by a few signatories carefully chosen, unknown to themselves, to suit the prejudices of the Bishop of Madras. The meeting was made sectarian, held in a specifically Christian hall, presided over by a Christian Bishop, and the leading position, that of moving the first resolution, placed in the hands of an obscure Christian Missionary, a chilly and wooden speaker. Seeing that the object of the meeting was to protest against a system carried on under a Christian Government for the benefit of Christian planters, and against the wrongs inflicted on Hindus and Mussalmans, it was slightly ludicrous that the Hon'ble Mr.Yakub Hasan and Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar should have been cast for the insignificant parts of moving the election of the chairman, and moving that the resolution be sent to the Viceroy and Secretary of State. In other towns, the leading citizens have organised the meetings; here we are entirely missionary-ridden."

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445. The public Services Commission.

(Dated 27th January, 1917, Page 259, Para 9.)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 27th January, says:--"The advance in political thought in India since the outbreak of the present war has been

so pronounced that even the signatories of the majority report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, are not likely to be surprised if their main recommendations are brushed aside as wholly out of tune with the times we now live in. No section of the people is now inclined to higgle with the authorities for a few more loaves and fishes of office. The question today is: Which agency shall control the administration--Indian or non-Indian? The most conspicuous feature of the report is the divergence of opinion among the members on almost every important point. Even what is styled as the general report contains minutes of dissent from every one except the President; and how totally they failed to agree among themselves becomes more evident when we pass on to their departmental recommendations. The net result of all this disunion is that we have practically no-recommendations that, far from being unanimous, were accepted by even two-thirds of the members.

"Needless to say, none of the Indian demands have been accepted. Simultaneous examinations are considered unnecessary and dangerous; State scholarships are declared unwise, and competitive examinations for even the subordinate offices are decried. What the grand old man called the Pariah service has been relabelled, as if a change of name will make it less galling to self-respecting Indians. The pay of European officials is increased as well as their other prospects and comforts; and it is proposed to saddle this country with a burden exceeding 60 lakhs per annum. Of course, here and there a few crumbs are thrown out for the children of the soil; and the full extent of the concessions made can be gathered from the single fact that if the recommendations of the majority are given effect to on a most generous scale, Indians will not, at the end of 30 years, hold more than 25 per cent of the appointments

having a salary of Rs.800 or more, whereas the proportion now is 10 per cent. We do not think any self-respecting Indian will tolerate such proposals, and no wonder that the two Indian representatives found it necessary to dissent on so many points from the majority of the Commissioners."

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446. The Madras Mail and Mr.Ramsay MacDonald.

(Dated 27th January, 1917, Page 263, Para 10.)

The following appears in New India of the 27th January;--

"Cut off their heads.

"Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is the last person condemned to heavy penalties by the Madras Mail. He does not approve of Mr.Lloyd George. Therefore he is egoistic--the sequence is not clear--and seeks notoriety. Why not say that everyone who disagrees with Mr.Welby should be imprisoned or hanged? It needs a Welby to see the pursuit of self-glorification in disagreeing with Mr.Lloyd George, who is at the apex of popularity. And for crude and blatant egoism the Madras Mail, since it came under Mr.Welby's control, would be hard to rival."

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447. Sir Bernard Hunter and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 30th January, 1917, Page 267, Para 18.)

New India, of the 30th January, writes:--"In his oral evidence in answer to the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Bernard Hunter paid a compliment to this paper

and its editor, Mrs.Annie Besant. He said that it was Mrs.Besant's paper that had raised the cry for an Indian Director for the Bank of Madras. We would be p roud today if Sir Bernard's statement happened to be true. As it is not, in the interests of truth we must ppotest against the statement as uncalled for, irrelevant ~~nad~~ and untrue. The good Panditji gave more than one chance to Sir Bernard to correct his misstatement, but he was too obtuse or obstinate or both, and so this paper and Mrs.Besant are credited with raising a cry while they have only added their strength to it. Instead of losing his temper and (pucming) his anger on Mrs.Besant (sic) and New India, Sir Bernard Hunter had better make a serious effort to put his own house in order. If he thinks that his Bank's dealings are just and fair to Indian trade in comparison with Anglo-Indian trade, let him instruct his Chairman to reply to the letters of Mr.Vidya Sagar Pandya. As so far no reply has come forward the Indian public at any rate is convinced that there is room for improvement, and a chance for fair-play and justice towards its Indian constitutents, in the Bank of Madras. Now we maintain that in this matter, as in everything else Indians will not get justice ~~towards its Indian constituents, in the Bank~~ from Anglo-Indians, and therefore we should have on the Board of Directors not only one but more than one Indian. Sir Bernard may not relish the idea of an Indian Director picking flaws in his and his European colleagues' arrangements, but the Indian traders (+) will who pocket the huge profits on the borrowed capital from a Government Bank, and despite Sir Bernard Hunter, Mrs.Besant and New India will continue the demand for Indian Directors for the Presidency Bank, and we feel that in doing so we demand what is only bare justice."

(+) will continue to suffer as long as the present colour link fences the Anglo-Indian directorate — of the Madras Bank. Sir Bernard may not like his Bank's doings being shown up time and again but one of the duties of the Indian press is to expose the contrivences of Anglo-Indian traders

448, Mrs.Besant and Christian Missionaries.

(Dated 2nd February, 1917, Page 270, Para 24.)

In New India, of the 2nd February, Mrs.Annie Besant writes as follows:--"The statement by the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan that I have a bias against Christians and Missionaries demands a brief reply. Now I have no bias against Christians, as my lectures and writings show; my book on Esoteric Christianity has had an immense circulation a mong Christians; I have lectured here to Hindus in exposition of Christianity, that they might see its nobler side, and the majority of my adherents in Europe are Christians. I regard Christianity as one of the great religions of the world and reverence the Christ as the Christian name for the Hindu Jagat Guru, the Buddhist Bodhisattva, the world-teacher--all names for one individual. Hence it is impossible for me to have a bias against Christianity or Christians.

I have a bias against Christian Missionaries in this country for the following reasons:--They attack the religions of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the land, and so stir up bad feelings and hatred; in one of their school reading books some years ago, used in teaching Hindu boys to read English, I saw Shri Krishna described as a libertine; they call the Lord Muhammad an impostor, a false prophet. I regard this outraging of the most sacred feelings of the inhabitants of the country as an insult and a danger, the more because it comes from those who share the religion of the rulers. I do not think that money out of the taxes should be paid to schools who teach Christianity where there is no conscience clause. They are chiefly to blame for the low view taken of Indians in Great Britain. The Missionary Societies there, in order to get money to convert the heathen, describe the lowest classes and the

hill tribes as though they represented Indians. They represent Indians as of a low moral type, and slander their religion; their general tone is seen in Dr. Moulton's letter, describing the symbolical image of the mother side of God, adored in Mysore, as that of a she devil. The result of this, constantly repeated all over the country, helped by pictures of low types of Indians, is that the masses of Britain regard the inhabitants of this country much as they regard African savages, and children carry about boxes to collect pennies to convert the poor heathen. These are some of the reasons which make my bias against Missionaries, and which make me marvel that self-respecting Hindus and Mussalmans constantly flatter them. My bias however, has not prevented me from doing justice, even to the Bishop of Madras, who has publicly approved the grossest slanders against me. When he wrote his noble article in the Nineteenth Century I reprinted it, and gave it the most ungrudging praise--the more, perhaps, because he had wronged me. Since I set foot in India in 1893 the Missionaries have constantly attacked, maligned and insulted me, as they did my predecessors. For that I care not. But I do care for the harm they do to India, especially in Great Britain and the United States and for the harm they do ~~to India, especially~~ here by their attacks on religion. These are the reasons for my bias against them, and I think it is justified.

"ANNIE BESANT."

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449. The Government of Madras and Mr.B.P.Wadia.

(Dated 3rd February, 1917, Page 323, Para 8.)

In commenting on the notices issued by the Government of Madras under the Defence of India Act on Mrs.Besant and Mr.B.P.Wadia and various newspapers, Mrs. Besant writes as follows in New India of the 3rd February:-- The astounding collection of orders received yesterday from the Governor in Council will be found elsewhere. All this commotion was caused to prevent at the last moment the delivery of a lecture, already delivered twice in the Madras Presidency, one in Guntur before Amraoti, and once in Madura after Amraoti, and in both cases without causing a ripple of excitement. It was apparently the admixture of Amra oti air which made the harmless nitrogen. Why it was only discovered to be objectionable by Sir Benjamin Robertson nearly three months after its delivery only that sapient gentleman can reveal. It may be that Sir Benjamin knew it to be innocuous, and therefore implored the Governor in Council to save him from exposure by prohibiting its re-delivery. It seems that a man in high office is at liberty to take away another man's character, and to prevent his victim from defending himself and proving his innocence by getting the Defence Act set in motion to silence him. I must repeat here what I have repeated at intervals for twenty years, that students ought not to take part in political agitation. College students are permitted to attend lectures, and they should especially attend courses of educative lectures, ~~and they should especially attend courses of educative~~ on the questions of the day, such as those announced the other day to be given by leading Madras citizens. But they must not take part in political agitation, in which

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their want of experience and natural excitability make them--like untrained recruits in an army--dangerous to themselves and others. The students who took part in the railway trouble know how earnestly I implored them to leave practical action in the dispute to grown up men; they insisted, against all the advice of their elder friends, in going their own headstrong way, and got into trouble, as was expected, and also seriously injured the case of New India in the High Court. Moreover political agitation means, to the young, violent excitement, and this weakens the student for his necessary work. May I venture to suggest to the Governor in Council that I have not the smallest intention of disobeying any legal order he may issue, unless it directly conflicts with morality and duty, and that if it did so conflict, I should quietly and without any resistance submit to the legal penalty. I shall not cause any disturbance nor riot, nor do anything prejudicial to public safety. I risk my own safety only. His Excellency was once a Radical, and must thoroughly understand the methods and limitation of a constitutional struggle, even though he no longer sympathises with them. There is, therefore, nothing that I shall do which is prejudicial to public safety, and the use of the Defence Act against me or against those who work with me merely proves the danger of committing wide powers into hands which, by the habit of autocracy, have become unfitted to use them with safety, to the law-abiding public. Of these things England shall be the judge after the war."

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450. **The Government of the Central Provinces and Mr. B.P.Wadia.**

(Dated 6th February, 1917, Page 324, Para 9.)

New India, of the 6th February, 1917, has the following:---

"Sir Benjamin Robertson's latest.

"Our readers are aware of the grave charge levelled against Mr.B.P.Waida by Sir Benjamin Robertson. Mr.Wadia is reported by Sir Benjamin to have delivered a speech which was from the beginning to the end a vilification of the British Government. Mr. B.P.Waida promptly replied to it ~~by characterising the charge as false he further~~ by charactersing the charge as false he further pointed out that the Central Provinces Government was at liberty to prosecute me for sedition. Mr.Wadia wrote to Sir Benjamin and received a reply printed elsewhere. The answer does not touch the point. The reply refers to a speech delivered by you; but Mr.Waida delivered five speeches in all and he is left to surmise which of the five Sir Benjamin refers to Mr.Wadia knows what he said. He does not know what report was madw by the Criminal Investigation Department that justified the charge made by Sir Benjamin. The correspondence, therefore, does not take us much further, but it reveals the autocratic and irresponsible spirit of the Chief Commissioner, hurling serious charges, which cannot be substantiated, at public men. Any sportsman, like a British gentleman, ought to be ready under the circumstances to throw in the teeth of Mr.Wadia the seditious speech, and after his challenge forthwith proceed to prosecute the culprit. Sir Benjamin Robertson fails to do either. What must independent people think? They can only come to one conclusion, and disbelieve the story of Sir Benjamin Robertson.

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From their sentry-watched Government Houses and Secretariats it is easy for these superior persons to indulge in language which has not been substantiated by facts, and to try to take away the reputation of public men. They are protected from defamation suits. However in these days of enlightened public opinion, educated Indians do not swallow everything that is dished out from Governmental kitchens, and so, fortunately, Sir Benjamin's grave but false accusations will not injure Mr.Wadia, but will only give him a little more publicity."

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451. The Empire after the war.

(Dated 5th February, 1917, Page 326, Para 14.)

New India, of the 5th February, writes:--"The London Daily Telegraph gives a very interesting outline of Lord Milner's paper on the Constitutional question remarking truly that his accession to the Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference gives special interest to his views. He is one of those who, unless another kaleidoscopic change takes place in the English Government, will have a powerful voice in the reconstruction of the Empire, and that voice, unhappily, is hostile to the interests of India. His rule in South Africa, his influence over the Round Table propaganda are known to all, and bode no good to our motherland. India and the Crown Colonies cannot be left within the jurisdiction of the Government of the United Kingdom. It is the doctrine once more of the Round Table of the ruling white minority of the empire of the five nations. India must recognise the position and make her choice; she must either win self-government within a few years, or bow her dishonoured head beneath the Colonial yoke. Lord Milner, who speaks, is in the small Cabinet

which rules the Empire today; our autocrat, the Secretary of State for India, misrepresents us in the Imperial War Conference. There is no hope for us except in ourselves. We shall be helpless under the crushing taxation after the war helpless under the new burden of Mesopotamia, which we do not want; helpless unless we have out place in the Conference, and that we can only have, if we have Home Rule. India's destiny is to be left in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, composed of the United Kingdom and the four Dominions. This Parliament is to apportion the financial burden; will India be held to be unfit to contribute, as she is held unfit to be represented, or will she, voiceless and helpless, be forced to become the milch cow of the Empire, drained by five nations instead of by one? With such discussions going on in England, with the underground propaganda of the Round Table in our midst, with Sir James Meston--whose views are the same as those of Sir Valentine Chirol and Mr.Lionel Curtis on this vital question--deliberately chosen by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to advise, Mr.Chamberlain in the Conference at which these very points will come up--with all these dangers in front of her, is India to remain silent and supine until the dominion fetters are welded firmly on her limbs? If she does thus remain, apathetic while her fate is being decided by others, then will she truly have proved herself unfit for Home Rule, unworthy of freedom."

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452. Passive resistance.

(Dated 8th February, 1917, page 330, Para 19.)

New India, of the 8th February, states:--"The appalling condition of numbers of our fellow-subjects in the so-called Self Governing Dominions of the Crown, together with the contemplated extension of the barbarous indenture system, vividly recall to our memory the heroic stand made some years ago by Messrs. Gandhi and Polak, helped by a number of patriotic Indians who, in their own humble persons, proved to the hilt that reading, writing and arithmetic are not the real standards of fitness for self-government. Humble Indians in South Africa, far away from the Motherland, with naught but ruin staring them in the face, boldly faced their oppressors and fought the good fight in which might ever at last bows to right. Humble Englishmen in Britain, conscientious objectors they are called, are today martyrs in the same great cause of liberty of consciency. And the countries which in modern days can produce the heroes of South Africa and the conscientious objectors of Great Britain are countries to which Providence as vouchasafed a great future. The law of Passice Resistance is the law of the loyal patriot; the anarchy of violence can never sway him, for he knows the truth of Whittier's noble lines:

Well to suffer is divine;

Pass the watchword down the line,
Pass the countersign "Endure!"
Note to him who rashly dares,
But to him who nobly bears,
Is the victor's garland sure.

The Empire has made, and is still making, unpardonable errors in its treatment of those who know how to suffer for their consciences. As we have said, there may conceivably be a duty of restraint, unless those in authority possess the wisdom to harmonise; but the shameful brutality with which so many conscientious objectors have been treated will keep alive a hatred which ought never to have been allowed to come into existence, while it will never diminish, even by so much as one single individual, those who conscientiously object. In India, the people are beginning to find that they have consciences to which homage is due, and they are beginning to object. Nothing can come of this save passive resistance; but the authorities would do well to give to the empire active co-operation rather than passive resistance, and with a little sympathetic imagination the transformation might be accomplished at any moment."

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453. <u>Volunteering for Indians.</u>

(Dated 8th February, 1917, Page 331, Para 20.)

In commenting on His Excellency the Voceroy's speech at the Imperial Legislative Council, New India, of the 8th February, says:-- The declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy that Indians may volunteer in their own units for general military service in India for the duration of the War will be welcomed with pride and gladness by the Indian people. We welcome this step, urged by Congress after Congress since 1886, and we recognise that, in the bringing of it about, the War has conferred upon India a much-wished for and long-desired right. The importance of this forward step cannot be exaggerated. It proves that the value of Indian manhood is recognised, and it proves that the Government of India trusts the Indian people. That

trust will revivify India's waning confidence, and the day of the Viceroy's announcement will be remembered as a red letter day in India's forward progress."

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454. Political prisoners.

(Dated 19th February, 1917, Page 439, Para 2.)

In a leader on the subject of Solitary Confinement, New India, of the 19th February, says:--Our readers will have read with horror that political prisoners, confined under the Regulation 3 of 1818 in Bengal, are placed in solitary confinement in cells in a goal. These gentlemen have never been put on trial; they are held under a lettre de cachet, signed by the Chief Secretary to Government under the order of the Governor-General in Council, who for good and sufficient reasons has seen fit to determine that(the State Prisoner) shall be placed under personal restraint. No trial; no evidence worth the name, or it would be submitted to a judicial tribunal; by the mere will of the Governor-General in Council, 84 persons are now languishing in cells, in solitary confinement for weeks and months; it is the most dangerous punishment to human reason known to the law, so dangerous, that its infliction is carefully guarded by the Penal Code, and that no prisoner, legally convicted of the vilest crime, may be subjected to it for a longer period at a time than fourteen days. Sir Reginald Craddock does not seem to be the least ashamed of the statement he made, and, following the example of other public officers, he takes the opportunity of slandering these unfortunate victims of a wicked system. There are members of a revolutionary conspiracy; if that be true, they should be put on trial; if there is no evidence fit to be submitted to a Court of Law, what right has Sir Reginald

Craddock to slander these man? Is it credible that, in the twentieth century, 84 persons are being confined continuously in solitary cells, for weeks and months together without trial, under the British Flag? India owes gratitude for unveiling this horror to Mr.Bhupendranath Basu."

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455. Racial differentiation in education.

(Dated 19th February, 1917, Page 440, Para 4,)

New India, of the 19th February, remarks:--If outbursts in some Anglo-Indian papers give a correct indication of forthcoming events, the Government of India seem to be now considering whether the time has not come to do away with racial differentiation in the education of the Statutory Natives of India. At present, the Department of European Education is separate from that of Public Instruction; and there seems to be a movement to do away with the bifurcation. We did not know that Sir Sankaran Nayar was being given so much freedom under the new regime as to hatch a conspiracy against the most vociferous and most powerful community in India; all the same, we welcome the idea which these correspondents believe to be under consideration. Till now, the Government have been spending so much money on Anglo-Indian education, that every child of school-going a ge is receiving instruction among them, and facilities for higher education are equally ahead. Needless to say, it is not our desire that some of the schools and colleges intended for them should be closed. What we demand is that, in future, the needs of all statutory Indians shall be treated on the same scale. And that will benefit the country in several ways. Anglo-India will be compelled to fight for the advancement of educational expenditure as a whole; there will be less favouritism, and

consequently, the majority of the people will suffer less. Apart from all this, the racial bar will disappear in education, and in the long run, the influence of that reform is bound to react on the Public Services. These are now weakened considerably by the recruitment of less qualified Anglo-Indians, who have not to undergo the same tests as other statutory Indians. But when all classes are educated under the same system, the separate examinations that are now relied on for the recruitment of Anglo-Indians contemporaries are well informed, the Government of India is moving on the right track. And justice and statesmanship ought not to be tabooed simply because an Indian happens to be concerned in the reform."

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456. Students and politics.

(Dated 22nd February, 1917, Page 440, Para 5.)

New India, of the 22nd February, observes:--We publish elsewhere the full text of the letter sent by the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, to the Inspector of Schools, Nagpur, on the position of school boys with respect to political meetings and agitation. Needless to say, no responsible Indian desires that school boys should participate in politics. The results of such participation are bound to be harmful. On that point, Sir Benjamin has the support of educated India. But when he goes beyond that, and adds to the responsibility of headmasters, who a re already at the mercy of the Education Department, he cannot expect any popular support. We do not know why the circular was issued at all. In fact, if the circular should after all be put into force and prove a failure, it will be due entirely to the harsh way in which Sir Benjamin sought to secure his object."

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457. The Government of the Punjab and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

(Dated 19th February, 1917, Page 444, Para 16.)

New India, of the 19th February, has the following:--

"More Repression.

The ink was hardly dry on the proof of our first article, when the news came that Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal had been decided to be prejudicial to the safety of the Punjab, and that he must keep out. He had no idea of going, but that is a trifle. What is going on in the Punjab to make Sir Michael O'Dwyer so panic-stricken? First he excludes Lok. Tilak, now Mr. Pal. We read of the large increase of the crime in Bengal..the chief cause is repression. Sir Michael O'Dwyer seems to be treading the same dangerous path; Well, it all brings Home Rule nearer.

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458. The Government of India and the war.

(Dated 21st February, 1917, Page 447, Para 25.)

In a leader under the heading Too late: Why? New India, of the 21st February, observes:--In one of his famous speeches as the Minister of Munitions, Mr. Lloyd George was frank enough to admit that in almost every one of the British enterprises in the present war, the steps necessary for their success had been taken too late invariably too late. Whatever be the justice of that criticism with respect to British affairs, it seems to be perfectly justified regarding what has been attempted in India with the object of meeting the conditions created by the war. We do not think it is necessary to continue

this melancholy tale. What has been said must convince every impartial critic that our Government have been slow, too slow in their activities during the war; and in several cases, they have moved too late. Will the Government of India recognise their failure and hereafter at least look sufficiently ahead? We do not ask them to startle the world with any new and gigantic experiments; the demand of the people is modest, very modest, viz., that they should profit by the example of other civilised Governments where the popular voice is stronger in the administration of this country. England, America and Japan -- even Russia are preparing to face the situation that will grow out of the present war; and they are countries where the voice of the people is far stronger than it is here. And if India lags behind in that respect, will the people be mistaken if they attribute the failure to the fact that here alone public opinion counts for nothing?"

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459. The working of the Defence of India Act.

(Dated 22nd February, 1917, Page 448, Para 27.)

The following appears in New India, of the 23rd February:--

"An unreasonable demand.

" 'Trust us and we cannot trust you'--these words sum up the whole case for the Government in the discussion on Mr.Dadabhai's resolution on the working of the Defence of India Act. Everyofficial speaker demanded that greater confidence should be placed in the wisdom, fairness and judicial temper of his brother official, but in the very next sentence said that he could not trust the non-official. Secrets will leak out; and the enemy may thus obtain knowledge

of them. The argument is rediculous in many ways. If Germany were at the bottom of the revolutionary crimes, does ~~xxx~~ she not possess adequate knolwege about them? The Government cannot surely withhold information from those who engineered the movement; and thus with respect to that phase of the Defence of India Act operations, the plea that secrecy ought to be maintained is plainly rediculous. We are asked to trust to official infallibility and fairness. Do recent incidents permit us to do that? Mr.Tilak says he did not intend to go to the Punjab that he had no invitation to go. Mr.Pal too says the same. Yet all of a sudden they are served with orders under the Act. How on earth can any impartial person believe the official to be infallible, unless he decides that these two respected leaders are liars? And what Indian will ever think of making that assumption? Further, do we not know, have not the officials themselves proved to the hilt, that they are fallible? The recent attempt to bind over Mr.Tilak is a notorious instance in point and in Bengal, what strange events have not happened? Young men, as to whose character responsible person- in one case a District Magistrate-bore testimony, have been interned. Who is there the infallible official--the District Magistrate or the unknown functionary? In other cases, persons who were acquitted in a law court were arrested. Who again were the infallible officials? Indians are now fit to be trusted with the secrets of the Empire, but not with those of a local Government! And it is on the strength of that ludicrous plea that the resolution has been thrown out."

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460. The Young Men's Indian Association, Bangalore.

(Da ted 24th February, 1917, Page 510, Para 10.)

New India, of the 24th February, has the following:--

"A Storm in a Tea-cup.

"The Bangalor Young Men's Indian Association invited Mrs. Annie Besant to preside at their anniversary, and she consented. But they had forgotten that they had a Missionary for their Honorary President and the Resident for their Patron. The announcement of the invitation ruffled the missionary dovecot, and the Rev. Mr. Fuller went to the Resident in dire trouble. Result, the drafting of the following letter by Mr. Fuller, which he asked the Secretary of the Association to copy, sign, and forward to the addressee. The young man, being a gentleman, declined to send such a letter, the circumstances being Mr. Fuller himself, and possibly the Resident. It ran as follows:--

"DEAR MADAM,

"Circumstances have arisen which prevent us from holding the anniversary of the Young Men's Association on the 5th proximo, so that the Association will not be able to avail itself of your kind promise to address the gathering on that occasion. If, however, you are willing to address a gathering of students on that day in connection with your visit to Bangalore, there are large numbers of people here who would be only too glad of the opportunity of hearing you, and such a meeting can be arranged apart altogether from this particular Association.

"Regretting that we are unable to carry out our arrangements as originally intended.

"I am, Madam,
"Yours faithfully,

"That is the kind of thing that young men have to put up with, when they make missionaries officers of their associations. We think that they should not ask Mrs. Besant when they have a missionary at their head, for, from the Bishop of Madras downwards, they will not sit on a platform pulluted by her presence. In this case, quite innocently and helplessly, the Association has been forced to insult Mrs.Besant and, after making large preparations, to cause considerable disappointment to the public of Bangalore. As Mrs.Besant only agreed to go to Bangalore because of the Anniversary, she has, of course, cancelled the visit in deference to the revere nd circumstances."

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461. Mr.B.G.Tilak.

(Dated 24th February, 1917, Page 510, Para 11.)

Writing under the heading another order New India, of the 24th February, observes:--The Chief Commissioner of the Delhi Province has now excluded Lokmanya Tilak from his dominion, not on the ground that he is going to act in a way prejudicial to public safety, but that he has acted in such a manner! Distance appears to lend enchantment to the view, for even the reactionary Lord Wilingdon does not find him dangerous to public safety. In truth, it would be difficult to find any citizen acting in a more creditable way than Lokmanya Tilak is doing, unless the test of citizenship is to be sycophancy. Of that, certainly, Lokmanya Tilak is not guilty, but any free country would be proud of him. "

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462. **Bengalis.**

(Dated 26th February, 1917, Page 512, Para 13.)

New India, of the 26th February, observes:--"Why should Mr.S.C.Mitter write to the Englishmen, of all papers in the world, abusing his own countrymen?

"The Bengalis, as a race, are ease-loving and extremely selfish people. We want to live in peace, carry on our usual avocations in life and make money, leaving our precious self and our hearth and home to the protection of somebody else.

"And this in the face of the fact that about 1,000 of this extremely selfish race are interned under suspicion of loving their own country too well, that this ease-loving people reversed the irreversible Partition by years of steady agitation, passing through, undaunted, a period of terrorism unequalled except in Russia in pre-duma days. Courage has become pre-e minently a Bengali characteristic in modern days, and if the Bengalis are now disinclined to enlist, it is beca use the harsh repression of their political aspirations had made them at length indifferent to the interests of Great Britain. They were once the most English-loving of the Indian peoples; if they have grown indifferent, in many cases even hostile, is all the blame theirs?"

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463. India's future.

(Dated 28th February, 1917, Page 518, Para 21.)

New India, of the 28th February, writes:--"The Madras ~~Fxikex~~ Times has an article this morning under the heading To-morrow in India" and deals with Lady Katherine Stauart's lecture on India's future. Lady Katherine Stuart's sympathetic attitude is due to her stay at the Theosophical head-quarters, but the English insularity returns with her renewed asociation with Anglo-Indians in England. Indian child-marriage is infinitely less degrading than the white slave-traffic in children in England, the kidnapping of young girls and the loathsome prostitution; the higher education of women in England has come about within our own lifetime, and the Victorian woman was a far more helpless creature than the capable woman-head of a joint-family in India; there is far more community of feeling in India than in England, with its bitter class wars, its strikes, its ghastly town slums, its shocking drunkenness. If social deficiencies here prevent Home Rule, ought not Great Britain at once to bow her neck under a foreign yoke, since her social conditions are much worse?"

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464. A conscience clause in Indian schools.

(Dated 5th March, 1917, Page 581, Para 5.)

New India, of the 5th observes:--"The times discusses at length the question of a conscience clause in Indian schools, and, of course, pronounces itself hostile to the idea, which in England is accepted as the most elementary right of religious liberty. A conscience clause merely allows a parent or guardian to withdraw the student from

the religious lesson in school or college, and it is only proposed to introduce it in schools and colleges which receive grants-in-aid. These grants are drawn from the taxes levied on Hindus, Musalmans and Parsis, and the microscopic minority of Christians; in other words, non-Christians are forced to pay huge sums for the upkeep of schools in which their sons and daughters hear the religion of their parents insulted, and where, at the most impressionable age they are involved in religious controversies, are forced to study aline Scriptures and learn an alien creed. It seems, however, that the zeal of the missionaries is not for education, but only for the spread of their ~~work if they could not force their~~ own peculiar tenets. The expectation that they would continue educational work if they could not force their religion on all their students is a mistake.

The fundamental fault, however, lies with the parents. The missionaries, for the most part, believe that the salvation of the heathen depends on their acceptance of Christianity; He that believeth not shall be damned. In India fortunately or unfortunately--for them, the missionaries combine the saving of the heathen with membership in the ruling colourless caste, with a higher social position and far greater physical comfort than most of them could have aspired to in their own lands, thus making the best of both worlds. Even though of non-British extraction, they may aspire to archbishoprics and bishoprics, while others may sit in Legislative Councils and draw fat incomes from the taxes levied on the heathern. Naturally, under these conditions, India is a favourite mission-field, and anyone who attacks their enviable position is to be hunted down and struck at with every weapon of misrepresentation and slander that can be utilised. With political study barred, and alien religious teaching encouraged, in the

colleges attended by their sons and daughters. Indian parents may begin to feel the necessity for founding and maintaining their own educational institutions. Too long have they allowed their children to be robbed of their religious birthright, to be driven into scepticism and materialism. With the awakening of the sense of Nationality, education will aslo be nationalised."

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465. India's war contribution.

(Dated 3rd March, 1917, Page 591, Para 18.)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 3rd March, says:--The extent of the sacrifice which India is now asked to make because of the war is underestimated in some quarters by following a very curious method of comparing with hers the efforts made by the Colonies during the past two years. It is stated that India has been the last to make the financial contribution, and that even now what she is asked to do is not appreciable when her population and her resources are considered. That is a radically faulty way of arguing. It ignores, in the first place, the sacrifice which India has been forced to make in the past to maintain the military strength of the Empire, and it also ignores the extent of the trouble and loss which India will be obliged to face because of the present gift. India was compelled to make a huge sacrifice-averaging in recent years to more than a fourth of the total revenues-for the permanent and double benefit of the Empire. In India, about fifteen crores or more-half the total military charges were wasted year after year so far as the progress of this country was concerned. The Colonies spent all their revenues for economic improvement. And India's sacrifice was far greater. She is a poorer country and

could, therefore, ill afford to spend so much for the Empire. While she was thus shelling out millions, the Colonies were pursuing a very selfish policy.--so selfish as to ask England to take upon herself the task of defending them. India was trained like a poor child, forced to earn a wage from early youth, and contribute it to the family expenses. Her income was thus kept low, and a part of it was always demanded for the common fund. The Colonies were treated in quite a different way. They were allowed to develop as Best they could, and were not asked to make a ny sacrifices for the family. In fact, the family suffered to promote their growth. They were thus permitted to develop huge incomes, and now, when the family is in trouble, they a re asked for the first time to make a contribution. Is it a wonder that their share looks grander than that of India, whose growth was miserable, and ~~whose~~ whose income has, therefore, been that of a coolie as contrasted with the skilled capitalist Colony? She has had to remain poor because of past contributions, and by the present contribution, she has to continue the period of poverty and misery. Is that not a sacrifice with which the most veritable Shylocks must be satisfied? What more can be demanded of her? The War Loan forces on her a burden which will tax her stamina to the uttermost, and, to those who are acquainted with her poverty, it will not be surprising if under its load she staggers to collapse, and a part of the burden is thus forced to be taken away in the interests of the Imperial family. The most ironical part of the whole transaction is calling it a gift from India--a gift to which none of her representatives was asked to consent."

New India, of the 6th March, observes:--An article in the London Times under the title India and the War Loan speaks with the usual ignorance and injustice about India's

contributions to the war. It acknowledges the great outpouring of generous gifts which the armies in the field have received from all parts of India, and boasts of what England and the Colonies have done. It ignores the fact that these are rich and give out of their superfluities and are in the enjoyment of abnormal prosperity as a result of the war, wages and profits having reached an unheard of figure; while India is poor, has been heavily hit by the war, and gives out of her necessaries half of her huge agricultural population living--if it can be called living--on a single meal a day. It ignores the fact that while Great Britain has only been supporting 156,000 as her regular army, Canada only 3,000 and Australia only 2,500--161,500 in all--India has maintained 75,000 British at a huge cost and 247,000 Indians--247,000 in all. This army has cost India £21,000,000 sterling, while Canada has paid about 1½ million and Australia 1¼ million. Great Britain, out of her enormous wealth, has paid only 7 millions more than poverty-stricken India. Since the war began up to the end of 1916, India has supplied, 1,100,000 men, while the Colonies have supplied 169,000. Here Great Britain stands supreme with her magnificent enlistment of 5,000,000 men, her people rising to defend their homes against a menaced invasion. As to money, India has given £50,000,000 in stores services and supplies, and has lent from her Reserves £27,000,000-- £77,000,000 in all; she has not taken a pie from England. But England has lent the Colonies £38,000,000 and Canada, with increased revenues of £36,000,000 has alone out of the Colonies, lent Great Britain £40,000,000. Moreover India has paid for the training of English soldiers, enabling Great Britain to hold large reserves of men, no less than 400,000 of these having been trained at the cost of India. In the face of this, the Times dares to say: She has not paid a rupee towards the cost of the war. India will do her

utmost out of her poverty to help the empire, but why cannot the Government be frank? Why should they promise an enormous loan which will cripple India, and allow it to be proclaimed to be spontaneous. Why not honestly appeal to India for help, and we will all pinch ourselves to give it. We do not like to be treated as children and minors; we want to be treated as trusted friends. We do not like the leading paper of England to slander us, to blacken us in the face of the world by unscrupulous falsehood and misrepresentation."

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466. The Indian Defence Force.

(Dated 5th March, 1917, Page 596, Para 29.)

In a leader under the heading "Indians. Volunteer! New India, of the 5th March, says:--"India's response to the opportunity offered her by the creation of the Defence of India Force has, so far, been of the happiest augury for her future. But we must not allow that critical faculty, in which the mind of the modern world so much delights, to obstruct what should be an overwhelming rush to take advantage of any opportunity, however insignificant, of rendering the slightest service to the Motherland. Are we going to make the Motherland wait for our services while we consider: (1) whether she really needs them at all, and (2) whether the conditions of service are such as satisfy our estimate of our personal value? Those who truly love the Motherland hear the words Defence of India and rush blindly forward. And when we say blindly, we mean influenced only by the heart and not by the head. It is the heart that urges the son to defend his mother: mind is secondary- Those who have no real heart for India are saying today that they will not volunteer because the

conditions of volunteering are not the conditions they can accept. India is to be left undefended while they are looking for motives behind every word in the Act. Indians are only asked to volunteer, they will say, because the Government is in urgent need of their services. Or, we are told, Indians will be sent abroad, once they are finally enrolled in the force. The rate of pay is unsatisfactory! It is doubtful whether Indians will get Commissions in this new force! Doubtless these are important points. But they are not essential points. The essential point is that Indians for the first time are being given an opportunity to serve in the defence of their country. There is no question of their entering the regular army. The regular army is for offence as well as for defence. The volunteer force is for the purpose of defence. Think only of India's safety. Remember that even if the danger is illusory, you will nevertheless have received such training as will enable you in times to come to be more useful defenders should real danger threaten us. You ought to be proud to sacrifice your sense of personal value for the sake of the Motherland. It is a shame that we should consider whether Euroepans have an advantage over us in the Defence of India Force. Is it possible for an Indian to say that he must receive as much pay as a European, or he will not defend his Motherland? There come times in the history of every nation when its citizens must put aside every lesser consideration for the supreme consideration of national safety. Such a time has come for India.

Even if the military service you are asked to offer today involves no active defence of the Motherland, rest assured that, sooner or later, India's position will be challenged. The empire will be behind her, but surely three hundreds of millions of people ought to be able to frustrate all attacks upon her shores. If India hesitates

today, the cause of Home Rule is indefinitely postponed. India is not fit for Home Rule unless the words Defence of India arouse an enthusiastic response from her younger citizens. India's leaders are in complete accord as to the duty of young India. Loka manya Tilak has said that he would give up Home Rule, if the response to the call was not overhwelming. To you all he is a great hero. He has suffered for the Motherland. Will not you, at least, serve her?"

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467. The Press Deputation.

(Dated 6th March, 1917, Page 597, Para 30.)

New India, of the 6th March, remarks:--"It would be difficult to conceive anything more ungracious than His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Press Deputation that waited on him yesterday. He began by telling them sarcastically that he presumed that they had considered the fact that the empire was engaged in a life and death struggle and that it was not the moment to raise the question. He showed his sense of justice by quoting against New India the condemnation of the Civilian Judge concerned, and omitting the strongly worded opposite view of the two other Judges, after quoting Sir James Stephen's remark, yet presumably all three Judges were honest men. We certainly cannot accuse His Excellency the Viceroy of having a judicial mind. The Viceroy has displayed himself in most unattractive colours, and has placed himself in direct opposition to the opinion of the whole of educated India. He must know this from the protests which have condemned the action of the Madras Government in press, meetings and speeches from Indian leaders. How far he was

justified in using his lofty position to vehemently assail a newspaper, the case of which is still pending in the Law Courts, we leave it to his own conscience to decide. If one of his subjects did it, he would be brought up for contempt of Court."

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468. "The Criminal Investigation Department and political agitators."

(Dated 13th March, 1917, Page 661, Para 2.)

In an article under this heading, New India, of the 13th March, remarks:--We draw the attention of our readers to the very strong protest made by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M.Ramachandra Rao in the Legislative Council in reply to a gratuitous remark made by the Hon'ble Mr.Gillman in his speech on the resolution on Police moved by Mr. Krishna Rao. Mr.Gillman certainly went out of his way to point out that the increased expenditure on the Criminal Investigation Department was necessary because of increased political movements. Mr.Gillman also made some remarks about the attitude of a certain section of the press on this question. Mr.Ramachandra Rao showed that the press was merely voicing the warm feelings held on this subject on this point, and he himself gave instances where there was such strong feeling. We are glad the Hon'ble Mr.Gillman said that it was not his fault that worthy gentlemen were annoyed, but we would like to know, in that case, whose fault it was. It is not wise policy to shirk such responsibility, and the people, who can allot money for the maintenance of the Criminal Investigation Department, ought to be able to exercise control over it."

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469. <u>The Criminal Investigation Department and Home Rule Leagues.</u>

(Dated 14th March, 1917, Page 663, Para 3.)

New India, of the 14th March, states:--The Hon'ble Mr.Bhurgri asked, in the Bombay Legislative Council, whether it is a fact that the Criminal Investigation Department openly enquire about the names and other particulars of the members of Home Rule Leagues? If so, whether this is done under the orders of the Government? The Government answered the first question in the affirmative and stated that the Criminal Investigation Department were acting under the general orders of the Government. It is a really scandalous thing thus to annoy people who are engaged in a perfectly law-abiding agitation for an aim declared by the Governments to be legitimate."

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470. <u>The European Association.</u>

(Dated 15th March, 1917, Page 687, Para 41.)

New India, of the 15th March, states:--Sir Archy Birkmyre has been re-elected President of the European Association; and urges Indians to show their loyalty by subscribing to the war loan. He unfortunately couples his appeal with a vigorous attack on Home Rule, and a declaration that his association will try to stir up an agitation in England against it. His argument is the purely selfish one that 500 millions sterling of European capital are invested in India and that this must not be jeopardised by premature concessions. There is not the smallest reason to suppose that this

capital would be jeopardised by Home Rule. He wishes to convince Indians-a perfectly hopeless task--that the welfare of India and Indians is indissolubly bound up with our own commercial interests.' Indians for the most part consider that the European merchants, unjustly favoured as against Indians, seriously jeopardise Indian interests, and that only under Home Rule will Indians have fair play in their own land. In any case it is not wise to couple a prayer to Indians to give more money to the Empire with a denial of their rights to citizenship therein."

471- <u>New India security case.</u>

(Dated 17th March, 1917, Page 750, Para 3.)

Referring to the rejection of Mrs.Besant's appeal for permission to take this case to the Privy Council, New India, of the 17th March, remarks:--It is very difficult to follow the reasoning of the Hon'ble Justices Abdur Rahim and Seshagiri Ayyar, and their conclusion is astounding. The Hon'ble Sir William Ayling's judgment is lucid and the reasoning is irrefutable. As it is now added that the High Court can give no leave to appeal, though the gravest questions are concerned, it would seem well to abolish the farce of the Special Bench and trial. The pretence made in the Supreme Legislative Council that the right to go to an independent judicial tribunal was a substantial protection is now shown to be fraudulent, and the local Government have plenary power to act as they please. This is naked tyranny, but Mr.Justice Abdur Rahim says that such is the policy of the legislature. We always thought the Press Act a bad law, but according to this decision it is even worse than we had thought, for the whole pretended remedy

is a farce enacted solemnly in the High Court, with no results save the useless expenditure of money.

"The two learned Judges, who consider that the High Court cannot give leave to appeal, seem to have treated the Special Bench of a High Court as though it were an exceptional tribunal outside the High Court, instead of being a part of the High Court. Its value is thus wholly xxxx destroyed. They seem to have treated it as an outside Commission-say, like the Mesopotamia Commission-- on which a Judge might sit; such a Judge does not carry with him his powers xxx as a Judge, he is not clothed with the authority of the Letters Patent, he is merely an individual chosen for his learning, his trained capacity in weighing evidence, and his powers of acute reasoning and balanced judgment. But a Special Bench of the High Court is part of the High Court, clothed with its authority and wielding the powers vested in the High Court by its Letters Patent. It is this unfortunate, and we venture humbly to suggest, mistaken view which has made the majority of the three High Court Judges deny leave to appeal. The Madras High Court four years ago refused stay of execution pending an appeal to the Privy Council, and was prepared to imprison Mrs.Besant because she could not obey an impossible order. She appealed to the Privy Council, which, of course, granted the stay at once, and, when the case was argued, not only decided in her favour but made some severe remarks on the treatment to which she had been subjected, and went a little out of its way to justify her conduct.

To the Sovereign Mrs.Besant can still appeal; She may fail, for the case is far more difficult than was the previous one, where the High Court had obviously acted against the laws of Great Britain, and its decisions were somewhat contemptuously brushed aside. Here we have a

bad law, not good laws badly administered, and if the Supreme Legislature had the power to enact the sections impugned, then the Judicial Committee can only administer the bad law, though it may--as many British Judges have done in similar cases--condemn it while administering it. On that, we can make no forecast. But we are sure that the Press Law will ultimately be repealed amid the rejoicing of all liberty-loving and civilised people."

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472. The Home Rule League.

(Dated 17th March, 1917, Page 758, Para 17.)

New India, of the 17th March, remarks:--Despite the declaration of two Local Governments that Home Rule propaganda is legitimate, and despite the declaration of the late Viceroy that self-government in India is a legitimate aspiration, the Local Governments show towards it a remarkable hostility, as remarkable as the love and enthusiasm it evokes whereever Indians are gathered together. The last specimen of the hostility comes from Delhi, the Chief Commissioner of which had already distinguished himself by his unprovoked attack on the liberty of Lok. Tilak and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.
Delhi has a girl's school, which under the unremitting care and devotion of Miss Gmeiner, an Australian Theosophist, has gained a unique position in the town. Miss Gmeiner is a strong believer in Home Rule for India, and lately opened a Branch Home Rule League in Delhi. At once the Chief Commissioner sent for Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, a prominent supporter of the school, to express his displeasure and a little later Miss Gmeiner, with her co-worker Miss Priest, had an interview with that august personage. He informed her that he would withdraw his sympathy

from the school although it was pointed out to him that Miss Gmeiner's Home Rule work was done only out of school hours. Asked if withdrawal of sympathy meant withdrawal of grant he said they might interpret it as they liked adding that in this case he held the handle of the knife. We admit the appropriateness of the illustration, but regret its use. It seems that under the Chief Commissioner's rule, no teacher must call her mind her own. This is the reward of more than ten years of devotion to the education of Hindu girls, during the early part of which Miss Gmeiner bore privations, discomforts and discouragements which very few white women would have faced."

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473. A Home Rule Civilian.

(Dated 20th March, 1917, Page 765, Para 29.)

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New India, of the 20th March, remarks:--Elsewhere we publish a summary of the speech of Mr.F.A.Coleridge, I.C.S., District Judge of Madura, at the War Loan meeting. In exhorting his audience to contribute to the success of the War Loan, he gave expression to certain views which are really the opinions of educated India. He emphasised the importance of India in the Empire of the Future, and said India should get its own best men. They could not at present pay an adequate price for men from England. An exceedingly sensible proposition for a true Englishman to make. Says Mr.Coleridge: Indians should take the job themselves and run the country themselves. The sooner they realised this fact, the better it would be for India and the Empire. This is exactly what the Home Rulers in India say and preach. Mr.Coleridge said that he was not accustomed to preside at meetings, but, judged by

this speech, we have in Mr.Coleridge a true and hoble minded Englishman. If every Civilian would only act up to the ideal set up by Mr.Coleridge, Home Rule would be much nearer."

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474. The Indian Defence Force.

(Da ted 20th March, 1917, Page 765, Para 31.)

Mrs.Besant in New India, of the 20th March, writes:-- No definite information has been published with regard to the conditions of enlistment in the Indian Defence Force, but statements are made by high authorities which are directly in opposition to the statements of the Commander-in-Chief, and reduce the Defence Force from that of territorial companies to the level of ordinary Army service, and make it a whole-time service instead of the preliminary drill of ninety hours and four hours a week afterwards. If these statements, giving the direct lie to the Commander-in-Chief's word, be true, it is not a question of accepting conditions, but of a complete change of the foundation and nature of the Force. All the talk of our representatives in the supreme Legislative Council, and all the speeches at public meetings are reduced to undeserved thanks for a privilege not conferred.

Another very serious question arises. Flogging was abolished in the British army many years ago, but it is still inflicted on men in the Indian Army, and that for very slight offences. Men who give their blood for the Emperor are subjected to this disgusting and degrading punishment, and it is a disgrace that men who fight like heroes should be whipped like slaves. Is any one foolish enough to suppose that educated Indians, to whom the appeal is made to join the Indian Defence Force, are going to put themselves within reach of the lash? If this abomination is to be maintained, and recruits are to be under the Army Act, even students will certainly not join.

As I have before stated, I have a very large number

of names registered as willing to enlist, if there be nothing dishonourable in the conditions. But these names go no further, unless it be made clear that the word of the Commander-in-Chief is not to be broken. Students, in all parts of the country, who have given in their names as willing to enlist, should see that ~~xxxxitx~~ they thoroughly understand the nature of the proposed Force before they commit themselves irrevocably to it, for it is clear that the statement of the Commander-in-Chief is not regarded as accurate by men who ought to know".

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475. Universal suffrage.

(Datted 30th March, 1917,,Page 869, Para 36.)

New India, of the 30th March, has the following:--

"In Russia.

"While the English make two bites at the Woman Suffrage cherry, and while in India any scheme of giving even limited power to Indians is looked on askance, the Russians boldly commit their fate to a Constituent Assembly based on universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage. Education in Russia is almost as low in level as in India, the illiterate peasants until the war were drunken, they were absolute serfs a little over fifty years ago. We are told that general education must precede self-government in India--though in other countries it has followed it. But in Russia, every ignorant moujik is to have a direct vote in creating the assembly which shall determine his future Government. Timid people here will ask: Are they fit for Home Rule? Fit or not, they have taken it, and who shall say them nay? Their action is affecting Germany, and a franchise reform is being demanded immediately.

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In the midst of war, European countries are widening freedom. Only here in India must we remain without progress, and be punished if we even dare to discuss, save in platitudes, or in defence of the present system."

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476. New India and the Press Act.

(Dated 31st March, 1917, Page 947, Para 13.)

The following appears in New India, of the 31st March:-- "The last Gazette of India, printed on shocking paper to show economy, profounds interesting conundrums to bewildered editors. New India, it seems, was warned on 8th March 1916. Under what strange guise the warning was conveyed, we do not know. It was not the famous letter on Madras servants, for that was in November 1914. Nor was it the letter ~~from Madras~~ from the Governor's Private Secretary, for ~~the first time. Nor did the~~ that was in ~~November~~ 1915. ~~Nor was it the letter~~ Of this recorded warning of 8th March 1916, we hear for the first time. Nor did the Government of Madras know of it, or they would surely have informed their Advocate-General, who was reduced to putting forward feebly the private letter of the Private Secretary, while here was a full-fledged recorded warning available. We would be glad if the veil of secrecy were lifted, and if the recipient of the warning might be informed of its nature. New India by the way made no grievance about being warned, it made a grievence of the absence of the army - save the absurd one over a letter about Madras Servants - and the absence of any warning between the imposition of security and forfeiture. ---- But after all, of what use is complained? We know that Anglo-Indian papers are safe, while Indian papers are a "hazardous under-taking." Let us turn complaints into work for Home-Rule. ~~What~~ When that is gained we shall have justice.

477. <u>Legitimate criticism.</u>

(Dated 12th April, 1917, Page 1023, Para 35.)

New India, of the 12th April, remarks:--"Lord Ronaldshay, in replying to an address of the Mahajana Sabha, assured his hearers that he will always welcome criticism that is well-informed or intended to be helpful; and that criticism of other kinds will be treated with contempt. This is very sound in theory, but it all depends, of course, upon the definition of well-informed' and intended to be helpful. The Government, at all stages, is anxious to promote progress in education; but it all depends on what is meant by progress. The Government desires to give all possible facilities to newspapers to freely express legitimate criticism; but it all depends on what is meant by legitimate. The point is that a general expression of benevolent intentions is of no use, when there is no basis of agreement in meanings in concrete instances; and that any proposal or comment put forward, if it is to count, must be specific, so that its import may be unmistakable. It is for this reason, amongst others, that the Madras Parliament proceedings are so valuable. They are detailed, concrete, unmistakable in their nature. They bring issues down to brass tacks. And a useful, effective and inexpensive Home Rule (either for the national or the domestic household) can be made by driving in a sufficient number of brass tacks!"

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478. The Desamata and the Press Act.

(Dated 12th April, 1917, Page 1024, Paga 38.)

New India, of the 12th April, observes:--"We are shocked to see that the Press Act has been put in force against the Manorama Press of Rajahmundy, for publishing certain articles in a Telugu weekly called Desamata, edited by the well-known poet, Mr.Chilakamurti Lakshminarasimham. He is a pathetic figure on the platform, the blind orator ringing out impassioned notes in the cause of Right and Reform. His literary fame has made his name a household word in the Andhradesha, and every household will feel the blow. We do not yet know the nature of the articles which have offened the authorities, but we do know that to touch this much loved blind singer is a policy as harsh as it is unwise. The probabilities of the right being on the side of the poet, who is also a responsible public man are overwhelming. In his righteous patriotic fervour, he reminds his audience of the blind Professor Fawcett, who earned the enviable sobriquet of Member for India. The Madras Government will not injure Mr.Chilakumurti Lakshminarasimham by their action; they only award him the olive-crown."

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479. The ways of bureaucrats.

(Dated 14th April, 1917, Page 1083, Para 4.)

New India, of the 14th April, 1917, has the following:-- At 2-30 p.m., yesterday, the District Magistrate, Chingleput, telephoned from Saidapet to the Theosophical Society, Adyar:--

Mr.Schwarz is warned that if he takes part in any

political movement of any sort he will have to leave the country.

"The exquisite politeness of sending such a message, so courteously worded, through a telephone, to be received by anybody who might chance to be in the business office, will be evident to all. It is such gracious ways that commend the bureaucrat to our hearts. The subject of the above kindly notice left his country when he was 19 years old, and he is now 55; ~~Switzerl~~ Schwarz and, during his youth, was anti-German, fearing aggression; of the 36 years remaining, Mr.Schwarz spent the first 3 in England and the remaining 33 in India and Ceylon; he was General Manager of the great firm of Volkart Brothers for many years; his life as a business man has all been passed under British rule, and he is strongly pro-British. All his interests are here, his property is here, and to leave this country would deprive him of his home and would ruin him financially. What has he done to be thus threatened with ruin? A man more honourable, quiet and inoffensive, it is impossible to find. He has never taken any interest in politics. He was for a short time a silent member of the Madras Parliament, and went to a single lecture of Mrs.Besant with money for any political movement. It was, therefore, quite unnecessary to threaten him, and to do so in such a hurry, that the notice could not even be sent in a letter, when no one but the recipient would have known of it--for Mr-Schwarz is a silent man--instead of publishing it through the telephone. Two American friends were also lately warned that if they attended any political lecture of Mrs.Annie Besant's they would be deported. In such ways does the bureaucracy seek to endear England to neutral nations, whose citizens may visit India."

480. The dependencies and the war.

(Dated 16th April, 1917, Page 1093, Para 13.)

The following appears in New India of the 16th April,

"Impertinence.

"Captain Frederick Guest thinks that the greatest use of the dependencies and possessions of the Empire is to produce labour to save the white troops in the field. The white man should do the fighting, the black man should do the digging. The British did not like digging. Does the other? There speaks the old slave-driving instinct. India should send hundreds of thousands of able-bodies, strong and capable well disciplined men to do this coolie work behind the lines. This is how this British officer speaks of men who stood for days up to their waists in freezing water, who died at Gallipoli, who have won hundreds of decorations in the fighting line. An insult like this, spoken in Parliament and unrebuked, is worse than that of the German officer in China , that Sir Pertap Singh has never forgiven. He might turn his attention to Captain Guest."

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481. Labour troubles.

(Dated ~~xxxx~~ 16th April, 1917, Page 1094, Para 15.)

New India, of the 16th April, writes:--It is very interesting to read that the Badagas monopolise the labour supply in Coonoor, and refuse to work for the minimum wage amount not mentioned. It is proposed to recruit coolies from the plains, so as to undersell the Badagas. We hope that the Badagas will persuade the

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labourers from the plains to combine with them to obtain a decent living wage. We have in the Badagas refusal the first germ of Trade Unionism here, and we have also the imitation of the western employers' plan of importing black-leg labour to keep down wages."

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483. Revolutionary crime in Bengal."

(Dated 21st April, 1917, Page 1155, Para 4.)

New India, of the 21st April, writes:--Our readers are, no doubt, aware of the persistent efforts made by a section of the Calcutta Press to magnify the extent of revolutionary crime in Bengal. We have often referred to the xxxx mischief of that propaganda, specially where it was directed to mislead public opinion in England but we had never thought that official circles in Bengal had been so greatly influenced by it xxx as is now known to be the case. At a recent meeting of the Legislative Council, the Government supplied, in reply to an interpellation, a list of persons concerned in the revolutionary movement in Bengal, and a Mymensingh correspondent, dealing mainly with cases relating to his district has explained how several of the cases referred to were casual assaults at times like the jatras. If such are revolutionary crimes, it will be interesting to know whether any kingdom on the face of this planet is free from them. The public are aware of the practices, now probably given up in some localities, of the Plague officials in creating or falsely reporting, from interested motives, cases of plague, even where the victim dies of fever or some other sudden malady. The Bengal police have evidently sent at least some reports

of that type to their Local Government. How else are the above criticisms to be explained? We trust matters will not be allowed to stay there. The attention of the Government ought to be drawn to such vagaries, so that they may entertain a less alarming and more correct view of the internal situation in Bengal. Revolutionary crime ought surely to be rooted out and the worst way to do that is to class all sorts of crimes as revolutionary. If, for instance, a habitual pick-pocket is to be prosecuted a thirty-fifth time and if his offence, in that particular case, relate to a person of whom revolutionaries are not particularly found, the Bengal police will very likely class the pick-pocket among revolutionaries. How alarmed the Government will be, if all such reports are taken at their face value, can be easily imagined; and surely, the progress of the country suffers if a Government is to be constantly fed up with such alarming bulletins."

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484. The C.I.D. and political workers.

(Dated 27th April, 1917, Page 1156, Para 5.)

The following appears in New India of the 27th April,:--

"Advice to Honourable Members.

"When the Hon'ble Mr.Ramachandra Rao complained at a recent meeting of the Local Council that respectable and blameless political workers, including Council members, were being shadowed by the police, the Hon'ble Mr.Gillman was kind enough to request their co-operation in keeping down such annoyance. I would ask the honourable gentlemen, he said, to assist us by being careful as to the company they keep. If honourable members were ~~to~~

~~except that~~

to accept that suggestion, they must keep clear of almost all political workers of any standing. Is it not a fact that the late Mr.Gokhale was also shadowed by the Criminal Investigation Department? Mr.Gillman's gibe is impertinent."

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485. The Principal, Thomason College, Roorkee.

(Dated 26th April, 1917, Page 1157, Para 8.)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 26th April, says:--In the issue of the Leader of Monday, the 23rd instant, Mr.W.C.Wood, C.S.I., the Principal of the Roorkee College, publishes one of his addresses to his Indian students. It is one of those striking examples of the true unfitness of the average Englishman for teaching work in India. Had Mr.Wood made such a speech to English students, probably opinion would have been so greatly incensed that the authorities of the college would have dismissed him at once.

The mischief done by a man like Mr.Wood is incalculable, and is a direct incentive to anarchy and rebellion. We do not remember to have read a more disgraceful utterance from the lips of any European, and the honourable course for the Government of the United Provinces to take is to dismiss the mischief-maker without a moment's delay. We wonder whether it will occur to the Government of United Provinces to prosecute Mr.Wood under the Defence of India Act for stirring up class hatred. At any rate, it should be clear that if the students are not gentlemen and are intended to become so, they should first be provided with a gentleman as their Principal. We trust

that our contemporary will not allow the matter to rest, but will insist on Mr.Wood's dismissal forthwith. Otheriwse, it seems to us that the only honourable course for the students to take, when their homes and families are insulted, is to refuse to attend the lectures of those who insult them. An insult to their fathers and mothers, so gross as this, ought not to be passed over in silence, for a gentleman certainly defends his mother against ruffianly attack. The best course to be pursued would be for all the insulted fathers to withdraw their sons from an influence so demoralising as that of Mr.Wood. His speech is a direct incitement to the sons to force themselves free from parental authority."

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486. The Indian cotton duties.

(Dated 21st April, 1917, Page 1163, Para 16.)

In concluding a leader commenting on the Right Hon'ble Mr.Austin Chamberlains' defence on the imposition of an enhanced duty on imported cotton goods, New India, of the 21st April, remarks:--Mr.Chamberlain has conveyed the impression that the import duties were sanctioned only because of the offer of the hundred millions sterling. We do not think that any other conclusion is possible from speech; and that is unfortunate. We wish the Secretary of State had the moral courage to say that considerations of justice alone--and no other arguments--demanded a redress of the Indian grievance. If the Imperial Government had won the issue in the Commons on that single noble argument, the impression in India would surely have been far happier than it is. As it is, Mr.Chamberlain makes us feel that the Parliament was also asked to note that though Lancashire may suffer to some extent, England

obtained a hundred millions sterling. British statesmen ought to put forward far nobler sentiments in discussing Indian affairs."

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487. Denouncing other religions.

(Dated 21st April, 1917, Page 1163, Para 17.)

The following appears in New India of the 21st April, We see in Events in Malaber that a Muhammadan, an ex-Christian, has been warned for denouncing other religions' when preaching, and the preaching has been discontinued. It is wrong to denounce other religions, and in a country in which religious feelings run high, denunciation might cause rioting, and thus becomes rightfully cognisable by the civil power. But we think that the law should be impartially administered, and we do not find that Christian preachers are warned when they denounce the Lord Muhammad as a false prophet, nor when they denounce Hinduism as heathen and idolatrous, nor when they denounce Theosophy as the invention of the devil. Why are Christian preachers alone allowed to insult the religions of others?"

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488. India and the Imperial War Conference.

(Dated 23rd Apri, 1917, Page 1165, Para 22.)

The following appears in New India of the 23rd April:--
While it is true that our Representatives were allowed to vote on equal terms with those of the self-governing dominions, it is not true to say that the Maharaja of

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Bikanir, Sir S.P.Sinha and Sir James Meston are representatives of India. They represent the Indian Government along with the Secretary of State. They are not responsible to the people of India, but to the bureaucratic Government, and therefore are answerable for their doings in the Conference to the Government. The Indian public should understand this, and it must be made clear to the people in England who are misled."

New India, of the 24th April, remarks:--

A Simla telegram told the Indian public yesterday that the Imperial War Council recorded that in future at all Imperial Conferences India should be fully represented. Thus a very important step has been now taken which ensures to India a place in the future Imperial Parliament. As in all other matters so in this there is a-but. The Imperial Conference has recognised the place of India, but they have not realised that India is labouring under a grave disadvantage imposed upon her people by those who are not Indians, have not the interests of Indians at heart and have vested interests of their own. While the people of the dominions are in the real sense of the term represented through their chosen and elected men, India is represented by those who are only nominated by the foreign Government."

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489. The Public Services Commission Report.

(Dated 23rd April, 1917, Page 1166, Para 23.)

Writing under the heading Mr.Ramasay Mac Donald's Half Truth, New India, of the 23rd April, remarks:--

In a telegram published elsewhere, Messrs.Gandhi and Andrews are said to have contradicted a statement of Mr.Ramsay MacDonald that Mr.Gokhale, if he were alive, would have signed the majority report. Mr.MacDonald would have been wise in maintaining silence. After keenly disappointing India, he ventures to insult her great leader by hinting that he would have consented to a report which treats the Queen's Proclamation as a scrap of paper. The suggestion is monstrous on the face of it,"

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490. Srijut Bipin Chandra Pal.

(Dated 4th May, 1917, Page 1225, Para 3.)

New India, of the 4th May, writes:--The scandalous treatment suffered by this well-known patriot is recounted by him in another column, and may explain one reason for the antagonism between the public and the Criminal Investigation Department. Even a ticket of leave man is not annoyed in a similar way, and to be thus treated is an intolerable insult, exposing the victim to public scorn and contempt, unless he happens to be recognised. Those ignorant of his personality would naturally regard him as a dangerous criminal."

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491. The Indian political problem.

(Dated 1st May, 1917, Page 1233, Para 13.)

New India, of the 1st May, has the following:--

"Put not your trust in Princes.

"Thus speaks the Christian Bible, and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, if Reuter does not misrepresent him, proves the wisdom of the advice. Here in India, surrounded by some of his brethren, he spoke out fairly well. Now, in the numbing atmosphere of England, he has fallen back into the trite official phrases of ultimately attaining the freedom and autonomy which her more fortunate sister Dominions enjoyed. The Congress, the Muslim League, the Nineteen are all unreasonable persons, and India is placed far below Russia by one of her Princes! He wants more power for himself and his brother Princes, and no interference with their affairs. But if India is not ripe for self-government, why should the Maharaja of Bikanir be ripe for full powers of Government? If India is to be kept in chains, so must be the Princes."

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492. The situation in the Punjab.

(Dated 1st May, 1917, Page 1234, Para 14.)

The following appears in New India, of the 1st May:--

"Repression in Excelsis."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not a son of whom Ireland can be proud. It is true that he crushed out rebellion, as the Tsar crushed it in Russia, with the gallows and the Andamans, the latter a far more cruel punishment than that of exile to Siberia, save where the latter included working in the mines. There is no political life in the Punjab; no energy in any movement for improvement, save among the Arya Samajists, and they too are lying low under his iron sway. The poor little

effort at rebellion which he killed out so harshly did not need so much judicial bloodshed, and though a Viceroy may praise, the Indians condemn. There is no mercy in high places since Lord Hardinge went away, but bloodshed leaves behind it bitter memories and brings no peace. Government may nominally desire and invite the co-operation of all classes, but practically they reject their help. Our elected members in Madras cannot even get rid of the degrading punishment of the stocks, inflicted on the submerged classes they wish to uplift; a bill in a single clause would abolish the cruel and barbarous punishment, but Government rejects it, and makes promises over again, already broken.

India has learnt, by repeated disappointments, the great lesson: "If you want a thing done, do it yourself."

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493. Freedom and responsibility.

(Dated 1st May, 1917, Page 1234, Para 15.)

New India, of the 1st May, observes:--At a time when Mr.Chamberlain is talking about the time that it will take to fulfil India's aspirations, there is an ironical comfort in Mr.Asquith's platitudes about freedom in the Commons. Mr.Asquith said that the members of the British Parliament the first home, the original home, of Parliamentary institutions and of popular election, did feel that it was their privilege and their special claim to rejoice in her Russia's emancipation and to welcome her into the fellowship of free peoples. When is the turn of India coming to be so welcomed into this fellowship? Or are we to witness the liberalisation of whole world outside the Empire, and remain within it

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under the leading strings of the Anglo-Indian, to dance to the tune of loyalty played by the Maharaja of Bikanir of Mr.Chamberlain, as our spokesmen in the community of self-governing nations? Must we recall the words of Dadabhai Naoroji, that, freedom is not given but taken?"

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494. Imperial preference and India.

(Dated 2nd May, 1917, Page 1235, Para 16.)

In a leader under the heading "A Great Betrayal." New India, of the 2nd May, observes:--The question of the a uthority of the nominees of the Indian Government to the War Conference to bind the Indian nation in the future is one of the most serious importance, and the position ought to be made clear to the British nation at once, so that no question may arise in the future as to the duty of India to remain bound by the chains they have already forged for her, and to be, for all her future within the empire, the mere hewer of wood and drawer of water for the United Kingdom and the self-governing dominions. The policy initiated and openly avowed by the East India Company--carrying on, as a trading company, the ruthless spoliation described in the reports, despatches and Parliamentary proceedings of the time, the policy which reduced the Indian masses to poverty and brought about the Rebellion of 1857 and the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown--that policy, broadly speaking, consisted of keeping India as a reservoir of raw materials, to be exported for manufacture into finished articles. Before the Crown took over India from the rapacious hands of the company, that policy had practically destroyed her manufactures; a few enterprising Indians had established

some mills on the western pattern, and had thus striven to utilise India's raw materials for home consumption. They were promptly handicapped with excise duties, in order to protect Lanchashire and continental manufactured cotton goods. The results has been the flooding of the country with English and German, and latterly with Japanese, piecegoods, made out of Indian cotton to the deadly injury of the Indian cloths, made by her own nascent industries. The Imperial Conference now proposes to continue the process, but to deprive India of the small advantage she possessed of selling her raw materials in the open European market, and thus obtaining a price fixed by the need of the competing nations. She is to sell her cotton within the empire, at a price fixed to suit the colourless purchasers of England and the Dominions, fixed in a market controlled by them, fixed to give them the largest ~~prfit~~ profit and to reduce hers to the lowest point. There will be no competition when Imperial Preference is established. India will have to sell her raw materials at the price fixed by the empire, in which the five (colourless) nations will possess the overwhelming voting power. She will be paid the lowest price which her necessities compel her to accept, and will become the wage labourer, the wage-slave, of the empire.

"This is the position to which His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir James Meston, and Sir Satyendra P.Sinha have consigned her by their vote, without her own consent, without any consultation with her by their people, at the fiat presumably of the Government of India, who sent them to London. Such is the Great Betrayal of India by the Government of India nominees. But they have made one thing clear. Unless the coming of Home Rule be hastened, so that India is freed before the great battle

of Imperial Preference is fought out, India will be ruined. The Trio of Government delegates, in concert with the Secretary of State for India, have voted away all hope of India's industrial regeneration, and have consigned her to the place of a mere labourer in the cotton-fields of the empire. Under these menacing conditions of ruin what shall India do?

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495. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 3rd May, 1917, Page 1237, Para 20.)

In a leader under the heading Our laws rather than good laws, commenting on a letter by Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill, M.P. in the Times (London), New India, of the 3rd May, writes:--It is curious both how similar is the condition of India, and how placidly India's equal claim for Home Rule is completely ignored. From time immemorial India has had a working constitution which invasion after invasion has never been able utterly to destroy. It is unfortunate that British statesmen fail to realise that from the standpoint of their demands, and as also from the standpoint of their special value to the empire, India and Ireland are, in their respective hemisphères covertible terms. Ireland is the India of the West, and India is the Ireland of the East. Obviously the problems of a continent are vaster than the problems of an island, yet the principles which underlie each set of problems are the same, and demand an identical solution. In India there are large numbers of people who are dissatisfied with the present form of Government, however efficient it may be. They do not want the Government of India's good laws; they want their own. The question is as to whether those who are dissatisfied are entitled to

try to prove that the existing form of Government in this country does not posses the consent and good-will of the people. If there be such consent and good will then the efforts of Home Rulers will be in vain, must be in vain. On the other hand, if the Home Ruler represents concretely the general unexpressed discontent of the people, then, not only for the sake of India, but also for the preservation of the empire, it would be better, to adapt Mr.Bonar Law's words, to have a very bad form of Home Rule Government if it is with the consent and good will of the people governed.

It is the fashion now-a-days on the part of the exponents and supporters of Other Rule to vilify the Indian nationalist party. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, for example, took advantage of his position to try to confuse the Home Ruler with the revolutionary, basing his diatribe on the circumstance that a revolutionary had once called himself a Home Ruler. This kind of attack need only be laughed at, for it clearly indicates that those who employ it are at the end of their resources and have come down to the bed-rock of personality. The Home Ruler knows that he is at once an Imperialist and a patriot, and because a few people say he is not, it does not follow that they know him better than he knows himself. So we may go on unaffected by opposition, ever gathering strength as the days pass, and soon it shall be seen that an India free means an empire unassailable."

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496. New India on the Government's Order.

(Dated 10th May, 1917, Page 1297, Para 5.)

In New India, of the 10th May, Mrs. Annie Besant writes as follows:--I write from Cuddalore, where the G.O. No.559 has just arrived, a ~~veritical~~ veritable bomb, threatening to shatter the arrangements already made and to cause hundreds of people to suffer untold inconvenience, if they are to be suddenly deprived of the services of the volunteers to whom their comfort--they being strangers in a strange place--is entrusted. The circular is in every way objectionable, and in the manner of its issue it is rendered doubly wrong. Although dated May 1st, it has been withheld from publication until the most important political event of the Madras year, the Provincial Conference, is meeting, so that it upsets all the arrangements made, and insults the Congress organisation, which includes all the leading men of the privince.

Anything more autocratic, anything in worse taste, anything ~~inxmxxxxxtxxtxxx~~ more insulting, it is impossible to conceive. Naturally the whole town is seething with anger, the Criminal Investigation Department and the Police are taking down names, and terrorising the young men. They have obviously no authority, since the students cannot know that the Educational authorities disapprove of the congress meetings, and no orders have reached them from their Principals. It is doubtful whether Principals have any right to issue orders in vacation, where the students are under the care of their parents or guardians. In any case, the students cannot be punished for disobeying an order they have not received.

Apart from this, the order strikes a deadly blow at the characters of the students, and seeks to reduce them to a condition more degraded than that of any other country, now that Russia has broken her chains. English lads are encouraged to fight and die for their country; Indian youths are forbidden to take any interest in their country. I shall return to the subject. Meanwhile let every Indian, young and old, realise the difference between a young man born in England and one born in India, and recognise the fact that the one country is self-governing, while the other is under a foreign autocracy."

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497. New India on the order of Government.

(Dated 11th May, 1917, Page 1297, Para 5.)

In a leader under the heading G.O.No.559" in New India of the 11th May, Mrs.Annie Besant observes:-- The Governor in Council must be congratulated on the success of his tour-de-force and on the amount of unpopularity he has secured for himself and his Government. The result of his timing his order, as he has done, has been to cause the greatest possible amount of inconvenience to the leading men of the Presidency, the kind of inconvenience that is merely irritating and causes resentment without inflicting any real injury. Thus, this morning we had no bread, and could not eat buns-according to the celebrated royal advice--because there were none. A member of our party had to go out to hunt for a vehicle of some sort to take members to the Educational Conference, and their late arrival was a significant commentary on the undesirable results of living under an autocracy. Had the order come sooner,

arrangements could have been made for the guests, but suddenly to scatter the volunteers when all arrangements depended upon them was a refinement of courtesy appreciated to the full by all. All through the stormy days of Curzonian regime, no Governor dreamed of interfering with this willing and heartfelt devotion of the young men to their elders. It has been reserved for Lord Pentland, a former Radical, to ~~xxx~~ step in and forbid a custom whihh has lasted unreproved for 27 uears.

"~~The outf~~ome
"The outcome.

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"We must be grateful for this vivid example of the disadvantages of Other Rule, and the impetus that our Governor has given to the Home Rule propaganda. A Single act of tyranny passes and is forgotten, but a continuous oppression, like a ~~hari shirt,~~ hair shirt keeps up a steady irritation. Every time that a great Indian visits a town, the students, eager to hear him, will be thrown into a state of angry rebellion. They will beat on the bars of their prison-houses, where their teachers have become their gaolers; and their love of country, gagged and shackled, will turn into angry bitterness, and will smoulder underground as it did among the students of Russia. Individuals may be imprisoned or executed, but the whole youth of a nation cannot be permanently crushed. Russia tried to do it, with a ruthlessness and a thoroughness that can never be surpassed, and we see the result in a revolution which is applauded by the civilised world.

"The outer world.

"What will the British Democracy, what will France, what will the United States, think of the order of our Governor in Council? He can hardly have taken so

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revolutionary a step without orders from Simla- What a spectacle does India present to the civilised world, fighting for freedom, when in her great dependency, the young men of the country are forbidden to attend a political meeting addressed by the greatest men of India? ~~What conclusion can they draw as to the nature of the Government which essays to stifle in the young men, on the threshold by the greatest men of India?~~ What conclusion can they draw as to the nature of the Government which essays to stifle in the young men, on the threshold of public life, all expression of their love of their country and of their wish to serve?

"Henceforth.

"The poor show made by Madras in the war loan is due to the Governor's reactionary policy, and in his anger at the results of his own methods he has struck this blow at the political life of the Presidency. This measure will do for Madras that which the partition of Bengal did for that Province. The young men are passing out of the University every year, and they will pass out with resentment in their hearts, and without the training in political matters and the duties of citizenship which alone might have saved them from the inclination towards revolutionary methods so natural to youth. Lord Pentland's order may throw them into the arms of anarchy in their hot anger; let us, who believe in constitutional methods, strive to counteract the danger, but as the students will not be allowed to listen to us, the task is well-nigh impossible. No worse disservice to constitutional and law-abiding agitation than this unhappy order, and the unhappy method of its institution, could have been devised by an enemy of public peace and quiet changes; yet Lord Pentland is, we believe, a wellwisher of India, and cannot have foreseen the results he is bringing about."

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498. The Government order on students and politics.

(Dated 8th, 5, 1917, Page 1299, Para 6.)

The following appears in New India of the 8th May:--The circular issued by the Government of Madras restricting students from attending political meetings has not yet reached us, and it did not reach any of our contemporaries till yesterday evening. Why has the order been withheld from the Madras papers? Can it be that it was intended to be kept secret and the public obtained it through the indiscretion of South of India Observer?

New India of the 8th May, writes:--The Government of Madras seem to be quite determined that this Province shall not give up its title Benighted, and we have the latest instance of this determination in its order regarding students and politics. Conscientious Principal will have to see that not even a War Loan meeting is attended by his students, and a scrupulous official may take exception to the lectures of even the apologists that abound in this city. His Excellency Lord Pentland is personally in charge of the Education portfolio, and under his authority comes this new edict which is the most repressive so far issued in India. It has been published at a time when the student world has given no provocation of any type, and we probably owe it to the considerable amount of leisure which the exodus gives to the official world."

1895

499. <u>The new tyranny.</u>

(Da ted 9th May, 1917, Page 1300, Para 8.)

Writing under this heading, New India, of the 9th May, observes:-- Having failed to alter the course of events marked by the new tendencies of a rejuvenated India, even by the unfair use of a war measure, the Press Act, and other instruments of autocracy, the bureaucratic caste in this country seems determined still to trouble and hinder the work of constitutional reform. They tried to break the power of Lokmanya Tilak and failed; they tried to break Mrs.Besant and failed; they tried to check the growth of this paper (New India) and helped it to spread far and wide; they endeavoured to stop the rising tide of Home Rule, and the waves of progress dashed them back. The Muslims and the Hindus are no more apart for the united in Lucknow. They do not know what to do with the expressions of a New India- eager for liberty, determined to be free, with Home Rule not only on her lips but also in her heart. This New India is, of course, the work of young India. What is that young India? Not necessarily the young men of India, though a very large number of them are at work, but all those who in a spirit of sacrifice and courage are vowed to remove the fetters of bondage from the person of their dear mother. There are old men and women in the ranks of those who make up young India, and the age of the body is a minor factor. Men and women, young and old, who have ruled and administered at Hastinapur, which later became Imperial Delhi, and in other places, who have taught at her Universities and village schools of old, who have portrayed her beauties and her grandeur, who have built her palaces and shrines, who have worshipped at her Mandirs and her Mosques--all these, who are

Indians in soul and not only in body, form today the band which is already growing and which we know by the name of young India. To help in the critical time of her history fast approaching, these souls have returned to their ancient charge to usher in a new era, when the song of liberty will be sung as in the days of yore in this land of Ramachandra and Siddhartha, of Akbar and Sivaji, of Sita and Nur-Jehan, of Razia Begum and Ahaliyabai.

"The bureaucratic caste who at the moment is in power does not understand this. They do not understand the mustic working of natural forces, because these are invisible and intangible. Therefore they do not realise that they cannot break Tilak, though they can imprison his body for years; they cannot break Lajput Rai, though he may remain an exile from his own country for decades; they cannot break B.C.Pal, though an army of Criminal Investigation Department officer harass him; they cannot break Annie Besant, though they may confiscate her money and person and press. These and such like these are soul-forces whom the repressive legislation of even the Government of India cannot touch. Kill them and their memories will be inspirations, and they will return to their charge in bodies new and fresh and more vigorous. Indians are religious enough to believe that Gokhale and Mehta, V.Krishnaswami Ayyar and G.Subramania Ayyar, Badruddin Tyabji and Rahimtoola Sayani are not dead. They live and labour and bless, and will come back in our midst of play their great and noble parts.

Why have we written all this? Just as an effort to make our rulers realise that they are altogether on the wrong track when they think that repression by legislation or executive orders is going to check the rising tide of Indian liberty. These thoughts come

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to us on reading the new Government order on the subject of students and politics. Our present rulers have been for some time departing from the wise policy of their liberal predecessors who had perceived the goal of Home Rule for India when western education was introduced into this country. There is very little freedom left for our young men, and now an additional curb is sought to be applied, and that by a Governor who came out to India from the Liberal Party. What is intended thereby? That our young men should not turn into honest Home Rulers in straightforward manner. Will the order achieve its purpose?--Most assuredly not.

"More than once we have warned the Government of Madras to take care that it does not turn this Province into another Bengal. They seem to be heedless and are fast converging towards that undesirable state of affairs, when young men driven out of the arena of constitutional politics, which it is their right to study and discuss, will run into dangerous channels of anarchical crime. It has happened in Bengal and in the Punbaj; it is on its way, we are told, in the United Provinces; it will, if things go on as they do, happen in this Presidency. Here, as in other cases, it will be the Government who will be entirely responsible for such an unsatisfactory state of affairs. Who will be benefited thereby? Neither the Government nor the Home Rulers, both of whom are against anarchy in any form or shape. The order is unreasonable and is fraught with grave mischief. If we were enemies of the King-~~Embracing~~ Emperor, our opportunity and leading youths out of Home Rule into anarchy. Not being that, we can only protest against the unwise action of an indiscreet Government. Stifling of education is bad, stifling of young and patriotic hearts is worse. That is what Lord Pentland's Government is after. What young men cannot do openly, their adventurous spirit

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and injured feelings and curbed freedom will lead them to do covertly. Why should our young men not read politics and study the problems of self-government? Did not Lord Pentland thus read and discuss when he was a young man? It is impossible to argue that young men are harmed by public political meetings and study classes. No reasonable man is going to support such an absurdity. If Home Rule propaganda does the harm of making our young men more patriotic, more courageous, more frank, and less docile, less timid, and less emasculated, then all Indians, will agree that the more such harm comes to the young the ~~bbbx~~ better. The Government order will do more mischief, but it is not going to stop our young men from trying to understand the position they and their country occupy in the world. And there are equally honest and straightforward ways other than attending meetings, whereby our national problems will be studied and understood."

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500. Home Rule in Delhi.

(Dated 7th May, 1917, Page 1308, Para 23.)

In a leader on this subject, New India, of the 7th May, says:--"We had not mentioned the persecution to which the well-known Indraprastha Girls' School in Delhi was being subjected, because we hoped that wiser counsels might prevail, and that the storm might blow over. We find, however, that publicity has been given to the matter in the Bombay Chronicle, so that our silence is no longer useful. The facts are as given in the Bombay Chronicle, but we may add some details.

"Miss Gmeiner came to India from Australia about ten years ago, when girls education in Delhi can hardly

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have been said to exist. She threw herself into the wokk, enduring inconveniences and hardhips that few English ladies would have borne, and she gradually built up an admirable girls school, overcoming all difficulties, bearing all disappointments, meeting every trouble with a smile, and going on undaunted; Feeling, as all non-official and non-trading English people feel, the heaviness of the bureaucratic yoke, the numbing effect of that yoke on Indian progress and initiative, she naturally became a Home Ruler, and, as no one else had the courage to do it in the autocracy-ridden town of Delhi, she opened a Home Rule reading Room. Down came on her the full pressure of bureaucratic anger; she was threatened, but stood firm; then came a threat to withdraw the grant-in-aid. The managing committee refused to be brow-beaten, and remembering all the years of faithful and unselfish work so ungrudingly given and the universal satisfaction of parents, guardians, Inspectors, with the progress of the school, the committee stood by their friend. It is sometimes said that teachers should not take part in 'politics'. Whether they take part in any party politics in a free country is a matter for themselves, but in India politics are not party politics, they are a battle for freedom and for the destruction of autocracy, they are a question whether India is to be slave or free. . . . . What high character can we expect from boys and girls who are taught by men and women dead to the noble emotion of patriotism? It is one of the curses of foreign rule that patriotism is regarded with suspicion and devotion to the country as sedition."

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501. The Raja of Kurupam.

(Dated 9th May 1917, page No. 1311 Para No. 29)

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501. The Raja of Kurupam.

(Dated 9th May 1917, page. No. 1311, Para No. 29)

NEW INDIA, of the 9th May, has the following:--

"Our Congratulations.

"The Raja of Kurupam must have been greatly pleased with himself when yesterday, late in the afternoon, waking from his noon day repose--they say the repose of most Rajas usually long--he found himself born to fame. The MADRAS MAIL has called the Raja 'a responsible public man'. What great reward can the Raja want for being an instrument of attack on Home Rule? Of course, we are ignorant of the sterling services of the noble ~~one-in-the-MAD~~ Raja which makes him a public man and a responsible public man; but some one in the MADRAS MAIL office knows the Raja differently, and so here goes our congratulations to the Raja who is 'a reponsible' public man!' The MADRAS MAIL ought to enlighten the Indian public as to the attainments of the Raja, moral and intellectual the capacity that has made him a RESPONSIBLE public man, ~~moral~~ the courage that he displayed ~~and the work that has distinguished displayed~~ and the work that has distinguished him when he was in the Legislative Council. But, perhaps, the Anglo-Indian clientele of the MADRAS MAIL knows everything about the Raja, and the 'poor benighted heathen' does not matter anyhow. He must have made sacrifices and great sacrifices; he must have diffused the light of learning somewhere at some time; he must have displayed charity in some ~~of learning somewhere at-some-time;~~ some village; his innate culture must have expressed itself in some form, in some society. What a sad fate has been that of the Indian public to have passed by in ungrateful silence this leading light, this responsible public man! Poor ignorant landholders of Madras, even they did not recognise the goodness and greatness of this noble Raja, this responsible public man, and selected instead a Home Ruler to represent them, in the Supreme Legislative Council. The oft-quoted lines of Burns come to memory:

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O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see ourselves as ithers see us.

"We wish the Raja would see himself as others see him--not only in the Madras Mail Office, but in the Indian public world, of educated classes as well as the illiterate masses."

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502. The 23rd Madras Provincial Conference.

(Dated 9th May 1917, Page 1311, Para 30.)

In commenting on the proceedings of this conference, New India, of the 9th May, writes:--Mr.V.P.Madhava Rao's presidential address will show to our readers that he has focussed well the real popular feeling in the Madras Presidency. The feeling in all India regarding the central problem which is before the public is one, and it is so strong and so overbearing in its claims that we are not surprised that Mr.Madhava Rao has made it the main theme of his address. In the presence of the problem of Home Rule or self-government, all other questions sink into insignificance. He does not leave the subject with this positive statement but clears the ground of an obstacle which we have repeatedly pointed out in these columns. Home Rule not by instalments, but Home Rule complete and immediately after the war has been the cry of this paper. Mr.Madhava Rao is of the same opinion. Why is this advocated? Because the present method of administration has failed. Our President is clear on the work of the bureaucracy. Like a wise patriot Mr.Madhava Rao wants this breaking machinery to be quickly replaced and thus avoid a catastrophe which may kill and harm all those who touch it. This is a grave warning to the Indian public and

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we are thankful to Mr.Madhava Rao for adding his powerful and influential voice to that of this paper. Nature and Nemesis offer such opportunities to a people but once in centuries and India must not fail to utilise to the full her splendid and glorious opportunity. Here is Lakshmi Devi coming to our home with gifts of plenty, and prosperity, and we are not giving her the welcome she deserves. Devas and Devis often come unperceived, and men and women pass them by unmindful of their gifts; sometimes one here and there catches a glimpse of their presence. Mr.Madhava Rao is certainly one of the few who has perceived the coming of the Devi of prosperity with the mighty boon of Home Rule in her hand and is not only welcoming her, but is advising us to perceive and welcome her. Mr.Madhava Rao gives his experience of the great Indian States of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda where he has been Diwan and it fully bears out our contention that Indians, even of the illitrate classes, and fit to carry on the Government of their country at this moment. The retort of Unfit and Not yet are mere shams which no experienced and thoufhtful man can entertain, and the knowledge of those whose raise this false cry in reference to the masses will not compare favourably with that of Mr.Madhava Rao whose practical experience is of a unique character."

503- <u>Home Rule for India.</u>

(Dated 10th May, 1917, Page 1314, Para 34.)

In commenting on an editorial on the Electoral Reform debate in the House of Commons in the Daily News (London), New India, of the 10th May, states:--
We commend to our rulers the statement that there is no time which is unsuitable for an act of justice and prudent policy. We want our Home Rule foundation-stone to be laid now; we are willing that the building should begin after the war, provided that in the meantime the plans are made ready to the satisfaction of the Indian people. The pity of it is that wherever else thought may be fluid, wherever else ancient prejudices may be in suspense, thought in bureaucratic India is as dense and rigid as ever it was, and ancient prejudices are as rampant as ever. This hardened rigidity is working intense mischief in India at the present time, and we are sometimes tempted to regret that the European bureaucracy in this country has been spared the chastening influences in the West which have made thought fluid and ancient prejudices impotent. However, it is as well to know where to go for a new angle of vision, and the salvation of India will probably lie in an appeal to the British democracy--in which dwells the true British spirit--to make known its will to a British bureaucracy which has yet to realise itself as not wanted in that new age towards which the world is so rapidly moving."

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504. Ireland and India.

(Da ted 10th May, 1917, Page 1315, Para 35.)

New India, of the 10th May, writes:--"The conditions and problems of Ireland and India are similar in many respects. The long suffering of a patient people like the Irish and their heroic struggle is a fine example for Indians. The story of the Irish struggle is very much like our own tale of woe. The ways in which, from time to time, they have been suppressed, are akin to the bureaucratic methods which we come across in this country. Those who are engaged in constitutional agitation and dislike revolutionary and anarchical methods are fully aware, in India as in Ireland, that the greatest aid to the latter is given by the repressive policy of Government. Those who advocate repression do not realise this for they do not see the actual losses which accrue to the constitutional party because its much-tried members, in a fit of passion and impatience caused by repression, leave that band and go elsewhere. Where do they go? They do not turn Conservatives or Carsonites--they become Sinn Feiners and worse. What happens in Ireland happens in India too. The Criminal Investigation Department, which is paid to report, actualities knows very little about them; for it, as a rule, is busily engaged in manufacturing reports for the little tins gods on the mountain side. It is really surprising how, in face of experience in Bengal and elsewhere, the Government persist in their blunder and adhere to a policy injurious to themselves and disturbing to the people."

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505. Students and politics.

(Dated 12th May, 1917, Page 1376, Para 1.)

Mrs. Annie Besant writes as follows in New India of the 12th May: G.O.No.559 is likely to occupy a good deal of the political field at present. On the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's next lecture in Madras on politics, the police will drive away the students. When Mr.Gandhi comes, they will not be allowed to welcome him if he wishes to address them. If Sir Rabindranath Tagore lectures, they will be shut out. The great men of their country are made tabu to them; no public political teachings will be able to reach them. The only political teachers they will have will be the secret conspirator and anarchist, who will reach them in private, and poison their minds, reproducing Bengal in Madras. It is all very well for Lord Pentland thus to sow the wind; he is going away, leaving his successor to reap the whirlwind. (No Government order can prevent students from being moved by the wave of political life which is now passing over India. They are Indians living in Indian Homes, and the Government cannot isolate them.) One thing the Government did at Cuddalore; it stopped recruiting by sweeping the students out of reach. Moreover, it will be difficult to persuade the students that if they join the Defence Force they are serving the Motherland. The Government officials in the muffassal are in many cases putting recruits off, they say they have no forms, etc. It is pretty plain that the Indian recruits are not wanted, and that when they are finally warded off, we shall bear the sneer: The Indians talk, they do not act. We offered to enlist them, and they did not come forward. It is up to the

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Indian young men to frustrate this trick; if they may not be politicians, let them become soldiers. They will not be the worse politicians presently, because they are drilled men.

Many will ask: What are you going to do under present conditions? Will you accept the order lying down? No. It has given the needed impetus for the starting of a long planned scheme to help students, that will be made public ere long. It was definitely started at Cuddalore yesterday.

New India, of the 12th May, states:--

Of course all the world knows that in England students are encouraged to discuss and study political problems, and but for that healthy and wholesome rule perhaps Lord Pentland himself would not be here as Governor of Madras. But a more striking instance is the following, supplied by a friend:

"In the middle of the suffragettee agitation in Great Britain and Ireland when the Government was more harried by the militant woman, than by any people in the country and retaliated by sending hundreds of them to prison, I well remember the first visit of Mrs.Pankhurst to a large provincial town and the details of the meeting at which she spoke. One whole side of the large hall was reserved for and occupied by the girl students (all under 21) of two large local high schools for girls, who came there with their teachers, it being considered part of their training in History, in Civics, in Oratory, and in general knowledge of the life of their time, that they should hear and judge for themselves this prominent political worker. It is infamous that Indian boys should be treated worse than British girls."

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506. ~~Students and Politi~~

New India on the order of Madras Government.

(Dated 15th May, 1917, Page 1379, Para 1.)

New India, of the 15th May, says:--Judging from the articles in the leading Indian papers we do not think that the Madras Government will receive the help it craves from parents and guardians to support its fatuous order. With judicial blindness, it failed to grasp the fact that the fathers and guardians are Indians, and that the Government is stigmatising their own political views as dangerous. Doubtless some old-fashioned parents wish to keep their sons' noses to the grindstone all the time, to the ruin of their eyes, the undermining of their health, the narrowing of their minds, and the destruction of their happiness.

All patriotic and thoughtful Indians condemn the order, and the Government would do wisely to cancel it, instead of making themselves unpopular for the sake of a few Principals, mostly foreigners, who cannot manage their students."

~~Justice~~

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507. Our failure is your fault!"

(Dated 17th May, 1917, Page 1379, Para 1.)

Writing under the heading "Our failure is your fault", New India, of the 17th May, says:--"The fatal No.559 will soon become a synonym for failure, just as 666 is the mark of the Beast and S.O.S. a cry of distress. No doubt there is no overt act of confession of failure to be read in the Government order, but prestige means that failure must never be admitted; so the shifting of responsibility on to the broad shoulders of certain wicked speakers is only in accordance with precedent. The sins of the Government are visited upon their critics even into the humblest associate of the Home Rule League vicarious sin with its attendant vacarious punishment.

"559, we have said, is a confession of failure. In effect, this latest child of the union between fear and ignorance, declares that Indian youth are influenced more by outside politicians than by their own teachers and professors. Is it not a confession of failure to admit that the influence of those who loom little in the daily lives of Indian youth should outweigh the love and trust their teachers have the power to win during the long hours of comradeship in school and in college? We are told that the politician influences through the excitement he creates. It may be so; but cannot the teacher control through the love ~~of India, and only love of India~~ he generates? Is the teacher so poor a craftsman that he fears to trust even the elder among his charges to the influences of casual lectures and evanescent excitements? The excitement persists, it is said, and unfits for study, for that

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quietude which should even surround Indian--though it does not, and never did, surround, foreign youth. But what is the nature of the excitement? love of India, and only love of India. The youthful enthusiasm sneered at by the bureaucracy and foreign teachers should be treasured as a precious force to be rejoiced over and wisely directed, rather than as a sign of moral wickedness to be crushed under foot and utterly stamped out. If Annie Besant, or Bal Gangadhar Tilak, is loved beyond Mr. A. or professor B, it is because Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and others like them, give Indian youth that for want of which they are starving in the Indian schools and colleges of today. Love of country is the dominant emotion of all the world's youth, save of those who are sons and daughters of India. Patriotism is saving nations day by day. Patriotism must save India too, and if the teachers of young India will not rise to the demands of India's destiny, others must, or India stands betrayed. 559 is a nail in the coffin of the present system of education; it is a confession of incapacity and failure. It is indeed sad to think that our teachers and professors of today need to have their authority bolstered up by Government orders; and if our young men are to do their duty to the motherland, it will have to be without the advice and guidance of those ~~those~~ who ought to be their natural protectors.

One fact is clear; such an order cannot last long, for it is not the intention of our beloved country that her younger sons shall be baulked of their service in her time of need."

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508. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 14th May, 1917, Page 1392, Para 15.)

New India, of the 14th May, remarks:--

"United.

"Mr. Arthur Balfour, speaking at a great banquet given in New York in honour of the British Mission to the United States, said amid immense enthusiasm:-- Unless all who love liberty unite, we shall be destroyed piecemeal. The words should be repeated all over India, where they are pre-eminently true. We are in a period of re-action, and the bureaucracy is straining every nerve to prevent Home Rule being won by India. Even the London correspondent of the Madras Mail says that by the events of this week, the war has rapidly resolved itself into a great struggle between Democracy and Autocracy. England is fighting against Autocracy in Europe, and is maintaining Autocracy in India. A house divided against itself cannot stand.

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508. (a) The freedom of India.

(Dated 15th May, 1917, Page 1392, Para 17.)

Referring to a recent article in the Daily News (London) on "A world set free" by A.G.G., New India, of the 15th May, says:--It is strange that even the most thoughtful men in Britain are so obtuse as to the needs of their own empire, and so clear of vision with regard to the needs of peoples for whose welfare they have no direct responsibility. Says A.G.G. and

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we all know that these letters are those of the editor himself- If Russia is free, the world is set free. And again, the freeing of Russia has changed the spirit of the war. What about India? What about Ireland? Does A.G.G. imagine that the freedom of Russia is but the overture to the freedom of these two dullest, because most ill-set, jewels in the British Crown? If such be his view, it was worth while mentioning it. For the rest of the world is beginning to wonder when Britain who has for long been playing the part of an appreciative spectator of the efforts of other nations to be true themselves to the principles for which the Allies are admittedly fighting, will abandon the role of audience and herself take the stage to show to the world her house in order. At all events we in India have so far found that the freedom of Russia has been but the overture to severer repression on the part of the various Governments of the country. India has long been waiting for her freedom, but it is hoped that Russia's example may help our statesmen to remember that within the empire is an India enthralled. Ireland has made her voice clearly heard. After waiting in vain for an act of generosity such as that which healed the enmities created by the Boer War, India has perforce realised that she must demand an act of justice. Every act of oppression, for example the Government order as regards students and politics, makes it increasingly clear to Indian eyes that a policy of wait and see must give place to a policy of push and go. Our rulers may seal our lips and restrain our bodies, but every tyranny over the body sets free a force from the heart; and no force of man may withstand the cry of the heart. India's heart is crying out for that freedom which her body is being denied. But no Russia free, no Poland free, no Germany free, not even an

Ireland free, can make the world free, while India stands in darkness, while the Sun of Liberty has yet to dawn upon this land."

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509. <u>Ireland and India.</u>

(Dated 15th May, 1917, Page 1393, Para 18.)

New India, of the 15th May, in commenting on a new "Covenant" by the Ulster Extremists, pledging themselves to accept no Home Rule Scheme which would involve their subordination in any degree to an Irish Parliament, says:--"It is, of course, certain that the views of Ulster will receive all the weight due to the aggressive action by which these views have been supported, and the susceptibiliites of Ulster are duly reverenced in Parliament. India would do well to note that parties are often heard for their much speaking, and the examples boty of Ulster and of the rest of Ireland indicate to India the policy she has to pursue. Neither Ireland as a whole, nor Ulster in particular, would have been listened to, as each has been listened to, in and out of Parliament, had they not declared their respective claims with all the emphasis at their command. We in India must also be uncompromising. Satisfaction with half-measures is always considered to be an excuse for giving nothing at all. It is not gentle reasonableness that pays in these days, but unwavering determination. India has yet to arrest the attention of the British public, and the political experience of many years shows with the utmost clearness that the British public needs very plain speaking if it is to understand

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and to be impressed. Liberty knows no compromise, and those who talk of a slow and gradual development in the direction of self-government forget that we have already suffered from the slow and gradual process, and now would like to share in the giddy pace which seems to suit the rest of the world so well. India's experience is, that though we are very slow we are far from sure, and it seems best for India that the bureaucracy to-non-Ulster Ireland. We should await results with eagerness and deep interest. In the meantime, India has commenced the preliminary treatment by herself doing a little in the uncompromising and irreducible ~~maximum~~ Minimum line, a line in which Ireland--whether Ulster or Home Rule or any other brand--has done so well."

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500. <u>Forbidden roads and Home Rule.</u>

(Dated 16th May, 1916, Page 1393, Para 19.)

New India, of the 16th May, concludes a leading article on this subject, with the following:--When one thinks of the huge privileges of landlords in England, of the cleavage between employer and employed, of the drunkenness and the prostitution, none of which are used as arguments against Home Rule there, or as the justification for the imposition of a foreign yoke on the people, one wonders at the audacity of an Englishman who can write that caste prejudice in a small portion of India, closing roads against outcastes, is a valid reason against Home Rule. Evidently India should not govern herself until she is perfect, but no imperfections could justify a foreign nation in ruling Engalnd. It would be inconceivable and intolerable."

511. Freedom in peril.

(Dated 17th May, 1917, Page 1394, Para 21.)

Writing under this heading, New India, of the 17th May, observes:--"The Manchester Guardian, in its issue of April 16th, waxes justly indignant over the prohibition of the foreign circulation of the Nation. We must confess to a somewhat intense feeling of satisfaction that the press in Britain should thus experience the pressure of unchecked and ungovernable autocracy. The lot of the Indian newspaper may be ameliorated if the British press itself be attacked, and if, as the Manchester Guardian says, the rumour is that an important Liberal daily newspaper has been threatened with the same blow. We have not hesitated to point out that the prolongation of the war is in definite measure due to the injustice with which India has for so long been treated. It should have been a truism to say that a nation or an empire must be free if she would fight for freedom, and the fact that this grea t principle has to be learned through bitter experience is shown by the way in which the war has dragged out its weary length simply because India and Ireland are not free to join their mighty power in the crushing of the liberty-destroying peril. So long as freedom is mocked within the empire, the victory over tyranny without will be delayed. And if, as we are told, the War Council is responsible for the action taken against the Nation, the sooner the Military authorities realise that the object of the war is not merely to prove the superiority of their own military strategy over that of the enemy, but to establish a great principle, the better both for the empire and for those who bear the burden ~~of~~

of anxiety and suffering and despair. Perhaps if Britain, which once was freedom-loving, learns to recognise the evil of the Prussian spirit at home as well as abroad, there may be hope that she will rouse herself to action throughout the empire."

513- English newspapers and India.

(Dated 18th May, 1917, Page 1395, Para 22.)

Referring to an article in a recent issue of the Sunday Times (London) on Ireland--the one rift, New India, of the 18th May, says:--"It is curious how English newspapers still seem to remain blissfully ignorant of the existence of India within the confines of the British Empire. We should have thought that the achievements of India's warriors on the field of battle and the inclusion of the Government of India's representatives in the Imperial War Cabinet might have helped the Sunday Times to remember that the British Empire consists of much more than the comity and brotherhood of the Anglo-Saxon race. But it is quite clear that India will be ignored unless she makes her demands in such precise and unmistakable language that Britain cannot help hearing. India has lost much ground because she has been under the delusion that promises precede performance. The pages of the history of British rule in India are strewn with promises, and so trustful is India that she has time after time rejoiced over the promises as if it were certain of speedy fulfilment. But the lesson has at last been learned by India as it has been learned by Ireland. India now realises that promises are soporific drugs which, when administered, not only cause

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her to lose count of time, but are intended to prevent her from awakening until that far distant future in which promises mature into realisation. India now swallows a promise in the full knowledge that it is not food, and goes on waiting for the only food with which she will be satisfied practical action. At all events we have so to work both in India and abroad that English newspapers shall not falsely imagine that Ireland is the only rift. India is another and a more shall we contribute both to the safety and to the glory of the empire, to which India would be far more proud to belong were she less of a Cinderella among her fellow-nations."

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514. G.O.No. 559.

(Dated 21st May, 1917, Page 1463, Para 2.)

The following appears in New India of the 21st May:--

"G.O.No. 559.

"One of the results of G.O.No.559 was mentioned by Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai at the Ganjam District Conference. He had brought his son with him to help and serve him, but felt obliged to leave him at his quarters when he went to the Conference! The Government knows better what is good for Mr. Kesava Pillai's son than Mr.Kesava Pillai can know, and the boy must not be excited and corrupted by listening to his father. We note that at the Vizagapatam Conference the police enforced the order against the students. But can the Government use the police enforce the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ipse dixit of the Governor? The

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Legislative Council has not yet passed a law making it illegal for students to attend a Conference, and till they do, the Government order is not enforceable, and no penalty is attached to its disregard. Principals have no authority over students in the vacation the authority delegated to them by the fathers during term time reverts to the fathers when the college closes. The Government order does not even command the police to enforce it; so they cannot shelter themselves under Government authority. The father of any boy assaulted by the police should prosecute the policeman for the assault. There are legal ways of resisting illegalities, and these should always be resorted to by good citizens. The really unwholesome excitement that these over-strained youths have sought in the evenings is that given by the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ sensational picture shows, with which Madras is overdone. They crowd to these, spoiling their eyes and their morals. But the Principals do not complain of these. The Governor in Council issues no edicts against these. The students who go to these are not the earnest young men who study under the guidance of their elders in Home Rule Leagues. It is these young men whom the Government fears, because they will become politicians, able and well informed, when they leave college. The young men who crowd to an unwholesome English love-story will not become dangerous to autocracy."

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515. The Downward Grade"

(Dated 23rd May, 1917, Page 1464, Para 2.)

In a leader under the heading "The Downward Grade", New India, of the 23rd May, remarks:--All the world is ringing with the words Liberty Democracy. The Premier of Great Britain and its Parliament telegraph congratulations to Petrograd, praising the Russian nation for having violently revolted against its Government, for having overturned the throne of the Romanoffs, and claimed its rights as a people. No one asks whether what was till lately the most drunken and is still the most ignorant pesantry in Europe is fit for a Républic. It has broken the Tsar's yoke and is free, and all free countries welcome the new Democracy with joy. The President of the United States talks about a League of Free Nations, declares that the war is a war of Democracy against Autocracy, not even remembering that England has established in Asia the most powerful autocracy in the world, has fathered more repressive Acts than the Central Powers can boast, interns the youth of the country by hundreds, untried and unsentenced, and restrains the liberty of peaceable citizens to travel freely over the land. All the peans sung over the successful revolt sink into the minds of Indians, who, like Mary, ponder these things in their hearts, and marvel at the difference between England in Europe and England in Asia Madras in plastered all over with appeals for money to fight for justice and righteousness--on the far side of the Suez Canal.

"The most ominous departure of the Madras Government is its G.O.No.559 ominous because it recalls a

similar step of the Government of Bengal in the Lyon and Fuller days. There also the students were forbidden to attend political meetings; they paid no attention to the order. Then the second step was taken the Principals fined them Rs.5 each; the students refused to pay. Then came the third step expulsion, and the students were thrown out on the world, deprived of education and ruined. Desperate, they broke away from all control of their elders, began to conspire, and numbers of them have conspired ever since. Some have been hanged; some were sent to the living death of the Andaman Islands; some were imprisoned here. Now, the students watch with amazement the Premier of Great Britain rejoicing over the results of the similar actions of young Russian men and women who conspired, and blew up trains and assassinated a Tsar, and who are now applauded as martyrs, and the still living of whom are being brought back in triumph to the Russia whose freedom they have made possible. The names which were execrated are held sacred, and sufferings are crowned with triumph. When Bepin Chandra Pal came here in the time of danger, was welcomed by thousands of students, and lectured in favour of Indian independence, the sensible Government let the young enthusiasm have its way, and no harm happened. Now when several Governments have openly approved of Home Rule as a goal, students are shut away from listening to a political lecture, however moderate, and from coming into touch with their natural leaders.

"What will be the next step?

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516. G.O.No.559.

(Dated 24th May, 1917, Page 1465, Para 2.)

New India, of the 24th May, has the following:--

"G.O.No.559.

"The Governor apparently had not the courage to give a straightforward answer to the Hon'ble Mr.B.V. Narasimha Ayyar's perfectly straightforward question. In the original question, even as mutilated by the Government, he has asked whether the Government were aware that G.O.559 was being used to prevent undergraduates from acting as volunteers. No answer was given to this. He then asked, as a supplementary question, whether the Government objected to undergraduates attending on leaders as volunteers. The Governor asked the Honourable Member to put a question on the point. He answered that the question was there. Then His Excellency said that the answer was embodied in the answer given. Why did not His Excellency say frankly that he had destroyed a thirty years custom by a side wind, but did not like to do so straightforwardly?

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517. The Indian Defence Force.

(Dated 21st May, 1917, Page 1471, Para 12.)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 21st May, observes:--The expected has happened. On Saturday last, May 19th, the Government of India published a resolution in which they express disappointment at the response from Indians between the ages of 18 and 30

to the call to join the Indian Defence Force. From the very first day of the introduction of the Indian Defence Force Bill on February 21st, every effort seems to have been made to render the scheme as unattractive as possible. Thus the Bill became xxx an Act under-discouraging birth-conditions, but all disappointment was forgotten in a widespread enthusiasm throughout the country to show that India was ready to seize an opportunity which her leaders had long demanded should be given her. On February 28th the Bill became law; but in its eagerness for the good name of India the Government not only took no steps to inform candidates for enrolment how they were to proceed, but allowed all manner of rumours to spread through the country, and suffered people in high official positions to make statements highly prejudical to the success of the scheme. Enthusiasm having been aroused, application was made here to local officials and to the Commanding Officer at Bangalore for information how to proceed. No one knew anything. There were no forms available, no recruiting offices were established. Principals of colleges advised their pupils to wait and see. It was rumoured that a high official had said that the Government did not want Indians to volunteer, that Indian units would be trained far away from their homes, Madras units going to the far north.

After a month's delay, the conditions for Indian recruitment were published in Delhi--March 27th. From these we learned that the age has been lowered to 30, thus depriving the young men of the elders who had volunteered, and to whom they naturally looked for guidance, and cutting down our New India list to about half. Form II was, last week, still refused to mufassal applicants, the answer being they have not yet been received. The forms were only available in Madras on

March 30th, after most of the college students had scattered to their villages. At Madanapalle, 60 had joined, but no forms were obtainable until they had left. To make things worse, the Madras Government has stirred up trouble by its oppressive circular, and at Cuddalore all the students were sent away by the police, while the whole student population is in a ferment of anger against the Government.

Yet in spite of all the obstructions placed in the way, New India--thanks to the Chief Commissioner of Police who gave the forms has sent in to him 350 names, and he had 68 from other sources, 418 in all, more than the Government says have joined in the whole of India.

The young men have made no conditions, they have joined despite all the difficulties put in their way, where they have had the opportunity. The Government, by lowering the age, and by not issuing forms till after the young men had left the towns, have done their best to prevent recruiting, the students' addresses in the country not being available. Yet in spite of them the list will be made up in three months. When we saw the hindrances put in the way of enlistment, we expected that the Government would take advantage of the hindrances it had created to taunt the youth of India with their backwardness. To have its officers saying they had no forms, and then to blame the students for not filling them up, is a curious proceeding. When the officer sent down to Madras to make the drilling arrangements was asked to take the first company of 250, so that they might be drilled in the vacation, he refused, saying he would do nothing till the thousand names were in. So helpful are the officials and officers in the South."

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518. (The Indian Defence Force.)

(Dated 24th May, 1917, Page 1475, Para 12.)

Writing under the heading "The failure of the Government", New India, of the 24th May, states:-- Under the heading "The Failure of the educated", the Englishman indulges in the usual sneer at the so-called failure of the educated India to join the Indian Defence Force. Our contemporary observes, with regard to the complaint as to absence of all organisation, if there is any general desire for service why should all this organising and appealing be necessary, and then tells us that Britain voluntarily recruited 5,000,000 men before conscription was introduced. True, but what an organising and an appealing there was for these 5,000,000 and the whole force of Government and Opposition was directed to the business of recruiting. The Englishman knows very well that the Government does not want to be bothered with the Indian section of the Defence Force, and by a policy of inactivity has done its best to kill the scheme. The Government has got hold of the European community and has put it under arms, without any criticism, by the simple expedient of giving a concession with one hand and with the other piling up all conceivable obstacles against its enjoyment. The concession has distracted attention from the arming of the European population, against which in the early days of the cry for European compulsory service many Indian newspapers, including New India, protested, unless India were properly treated in the matter of volunteering. And now the Government supported by its journalistic creatures, deplores and

laments the failure of a scheme which was never intended to succeed. The failure of the response is vivid condemnation of a Government which begs and prays for money, but is afraid of having men".

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519. <u>India and the Imperial Cabinet.</u>

(Dated 19th May, 1917, Page 1477, Para 15.)

New India, of the 19th May, remarks:--According to a statement of Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons the day before yesterday, the Imperial War Cabinet seems to have arrived at certain decisions highly objectionable to this country. That this Cabinet, constituted under the stress of war, should become a permanent feature of our Imperial system is in every way desirable, but that on it should sit as India's representative a nominee of the Government of India would perpetuate India's present position as a voiceless dependency. As we have already had occasion to point out, the Dominions will be represented by representatives chosen by the people themselves. It is intolerable to India that she should represented by the Secretary of State and his nominees whose expressions of opinion will be carefully arranged to suit the views of the Government of India. Even if India's representative were an Indian however much indeed, he might incline towards a truly progressive policy, he could always remain the nominated spokesman of a foreign bureaucracy, and not the chosen orator of the people. . . . India's representative must be responsible to the people and not to the Government of India, and we warn Mr. Lloyd George that nothing short of this will satisfy this country. The Government of India does not represent the people of India."

520. A special Imperial Conference.

(Dated 19th May, 1917, Page 1478, Para 16.)

New India, of the 19th May, states:--"In the course of his speech on the work of the Imperial War Conference in the House of Commons, Mr.Lloyd George stated that the whole question of perfecting the mechanism for considering Imperial and foreign affairs between the autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth would be reserved for a Special Conference which would be summoned as soon as possible after the war to readjust the constitution of the empire. India not being autonomous, will we presume, nevertheless be expected humbly to acquiesce in the fate doled out to her by Great Britain and the Colonies. And through their nominees, and what is worse, in India's name, a foreign autocracy will barter away India's freedom, with the result that India will be compelled to serve five masters instead of one. We wonder when our rulers at home and Mr.Lloyd George and his advisers in England will awaken to the fact that India has determined she shall no longer be ignored."

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521. Mrs.Besant's nationality.

(Dated 21st May, 1917, Page 1480, Para 23.)

New India, of the 21st May, has the following:--

"An Englishwoman.

"According to our report of the Ganjam Conference, Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai made the following surprising statement as to Mrs. Annie Besant:--.

But with all her philosophy, her piety and religion, she

sometimes exulted over her being a European. I am an Englishwoman, she would say whenever she meant to speak of her liberty. That was wrong with her.

"Mrs. Besant certainly does not exult in being a European; though born in England, she is Irish by maternal descent and half Irish by paternal, and always calls herself Irish not English. She never says, I am an Englishwoman, for she is thoroughly ashamed of belonging even partially to a race that boasts of its own liberty and inflicts an autocracy on others. Ever since she entered public life in ~~1x872~~ 1874, she has opposed and exposed English treatment of coloured races, and were it possible to exchange her nationality for Indian she would have done so long ago.
We thought that Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai knew her better.

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522. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 23rd May, 1917, Page 1480, Para 25.)

The following appears in New India of the 23rd May:--

"A Tulsi leaf on a sweetmeat shop.

"There is a saying in Marathi-meaning literally a Tulsi leaf on the sweetmeat shop. The tulsi leaf signifies a gift and the saying is applied to persons who are generous with other people's money. On April 27, Mr. Bonar Law stated in the Commons: The Government welcomed the Russian Government's recognition of the independence of Poland. Britain would assist Poland to realise her national aspirations. We are glad that Britain is so charitable towards Poland. We shall be

really convinced of her love of liberty if she assists India aslo, with the same enthusiasm, to realise our National aspirations. In that case not even a day should be allowed to pass before Home Rule is given to India. Justice--not Justice-expects it. Humanity demands it. Will India get it?

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523. ~~His~~ Ex Lord Pentland.

(Da ted 25th May, 1917, Page 1484, Para 23.)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 25th May, says:--"The much rumoured event has taken place. His Excellecy's political speech is before us. His Excellency has spoken and New India dogs--not those of the paper only but all who look and work for New India--are expected not to bark. After referring to several topics, important and otherwise, Lord Pentland, in the assumed role of the father and benefactor of the people, read a homily to the non-official members whom he must regard as inexperienced boys ignorant of Indian conditions and unaware of Indian grievances. Frankly, His Excellency has been amusing. After having done what he could to crush the Home Rule propaganda, after having tried his hand at repressive measures, at this late hour he affects, a new pose and appeals, warns, threatens and entreats with a view to discredit the righteous propaganda of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Home Rule League. We are afraid His Excellency is too late. Indian leaders and their followers have fully realised that in self-govern ment and in self-government alone lie India's hope and her salvation. It is a pity that His Excellency and those on whose behalf he speaks do not seem to grasp the simple fact that Mrs.Besant and New India, Lok. Tilak and his

papers, are but parts of ~~xxx~~ a far bigger movement, which is National, and even world-wide. There is not a province in India, there is not a class in India, there is not a community in India, which does not see the uttermost necessity of a fundamental change in the machinery of administration of Government. (~~All India, there is not a community in India, which does not see the uttermost necessity of a fundamental change in the machinery of administration of Government.~~) All India demands this change because the Indian people has fully realised that the present administration has failed--has been tried and found wanting as more than one Indian statesman has put it. It is no use referring to unsuitable time. If for Irish Home Rule the time is suitable why should it not be for Indian Home Rule--save for the fact that Ireland has given trouble to Government in War time, which India has not.' If the widening of franchise in Great Britain, including the problem of votes for women, is a suitable subject for action in times of War why should the expansion of Legislative Councils, with a view to make them truly representative institutions instead of the farcical affairs they are at present, be deemed unsuitable for consideration? It is not the Indian public which has embarrassed the Government, but it is rather the Government which is responsible for irrigating the public temper, and we are thankful that the government has awakened by innumerable act of repression the slumbering soul of India. Lord Pentland talks of absence of practical sagacity and political instinct' in Home Rulers, but what kind of practical ~~xxxxxx~~ sagacity and political instinct was it which has been producing Government Orders and what not, which are fast turning peaceful Madras into a restless Bengal? Lord Pentland does not seem to appreciate the Home Rulers loyalty to the Person of the King-Emperor';

because at the same time the Home Ruler commits the unpardonable sin of exposing the weakness and injustice of a selfish bureaucracy. All thoughts of the early grant of responsible self-government should be put entirely out of mind--such a statement one would well imagine as having been uttered by the last of the Romanoffs only a few weeks ago! It is somewhat amusing to find how these foreign masters of ours seem to forget that the winning of complete self-government by India does not depend upon their good pleasure. It is the British Democracy assisted by the views and tendencies of the three Republics of America, France and Russia, which will have something to say about the fate of India, and they will decide according to what the peoples and princes, the ~~raiyats~~ ryots and the zamindars of India desire. We will return to Lord Pentland's speech again and show how hallow are the pretensions and how mistaken are the views of that pronouncement."

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524. Favouritism to the Madras Mail.

(Da ted 26th May, 1917, Page 1547, Para 9.)

New India, of the 26th May, has the following:-- It is very difficult to edit a daily paper in a place like Madras, where another paper, the Madras Mail--which assures us that it is not a Government organ--is allowed by the Government to write freely on current events, while other papers are restricted. Some little time ago New India received a note from the Press Adviser, stating that nothing was to be written as to the transfers of territory which would have to be considered in the terms of peace. The editor consequently erased several passages in one of the articles, which spoke of such transfers. But the Madras Mail, in its issue of the

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same evening, discusses quite freely this same interesting point with full details. It has nothing to fear from the Press Act; the Censor and Press Adviser keep a blind eye in its direction, while they hamper New India. It would not be worth while to trouble about their directions, were it not that the editor is determined that if her second security is forfeited, it shall be on the clear issue of Home Rule and she does not care to be trapped on a minor point. But the Government favouritism of the Madras Mail is none the less gorss. The Press Act ought not to be used to help the trade rivalry of the Anglo-Indian journals."

~~525~~. <u>The Hindu on His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech.</u>

(Dated 26th May, 1917, Page 1547, Para 10.) .

The following appears in New India of the 26th May:--

"Worth reading.

"We draw the special attention of our readers to the excellent article which appeared in the columns of the Hindu a scathing denunciation of Lord Pentland's speech which is fitly described as impatient and petulant in tone.' We congratulate our contemporary on its frank condemnation of the utterance, and it is fully deserved by the retiring Governor, whose anxiety for the good name of Indian politicians the latter can well do without. Like us, the Hindu also finds the Anti-Home talk of His Excellency preposterous. (~~We wonder finds the Anti-Home Rule talk of His Excellency preposterous.~~) We wonder what Lord Pentland will have to say about this crushing reply to his performance.

52b. <u>His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech.</u>

(Dated 26th May, 1917, Page 1548, Para 11.)

In a leader under the heading "Hic Jacet", New India, of the 26th May, writes:--In the Pythagorean School, when a disciple failed, a memorial tablet was put up on the wall: His jacet such a one. To the teacher and his brother disciples he was dead. Such will be the feeling of Mr.Asquith and of the Liberal Radical party when they read the last speech of His Excellency the Governor of Madras to his Council as recorded in our columns yesterday. Is this the Peer sent out by Liberals and Radicals to train the Indian population of Madras in the ways of liberty and of preparation for self-government? Is this the speech uttered by him, when his late Chief and his successor in the Premiership were acclaiming the triumph of the Russian revolution and the breaking of the yoke of an autocracy over the peasantry of Russia, peasantry who who were serfs within the lifetime of many of us, an ignorant peasantry, a drunken peasantry until vodka was withheld by law early in the war, but a peasantry who will decide what shall be the government under which they will live. How loudly would the Pentlands of Russia have proclaimed a few months ago that the peasants were utterly unfit for self-government. The Governor practically takes the scheme of the Congress and the Muslim League, and declares that nobody with any true sense of responsibility thinks it within the range of practical politics! To say that is to declare that the huge majority of educated Indians are irresponsible and inexperienced. Then Lord Pentland begins to threaten. It is impossible that while the whole British Empire is focussed on the war, men in high office or leaders of public

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opinion can think about Indian Government. They can think about Irish Government the satisfying of 4½ millions of people, but not of Indian Government, the satisfying of 240 millions. They can think of getting a hundred millions of pounds from India by imposing a cotton duty to the end of the war, but not of the peace and happines of the people. If this be true, the cry for Home Rule is fully justified, for India needs a Government that can attend to her troubles, and put an end to the coercion which weighs on her, and brings about such tragedies as we wrote on yesterday. Honest and well-intentioned criticism is never unwelcome, but it must be carefully sweetened to taste, be powered over with "benign" and noble and generous, a word of halting criticism amid a pean of praise. The healthy breezy criticism of English public life will be found neither honest nor well-intentioned when it is turned on Lord Pentland. We must put out of mind all thoughts of the early grant of responsible self-government. But is Lord Pentland a Joshua to command the sun to stand still? Lord Pentland appeals for support in any action which the Government may be forced to take against the progaganda of Home Rule. The Tsars of Russia were forced to send the flower of their educated class to Siberia. But the Tsardom has fallen and the exiles are welcomed by crowds rejoicing in the freedom won by their sufferings.

"Thus does the Governor of Madras declare war on Home Rule. It is too late. Home Rule has become a mantra throughout India. Lord Pentland's speech is by far the most reactionary that has been made by any Governor. The crime of the present advocates of Home Rule is that they are successful. Because they are successful, they are dangerous. Because they are dangerous, they must be crushed. Such is Lord Pentland's farewell."

527. New India in Lord Pentland's speech.

(Dated 28th May, 1917, Page 1549, Para 11.)

New India, of the 28th May, states:-- "His Excellency the Governor in His Minatory speech to the Legislative Council, defending his now notorious G.O.No.559, says that the subject has been under the consideration of the Government for some time. That is well known in Madras. Was not a solemn conference held in which Mrs. Annie Besant was denounced, until, a spirited participant boldly declared that her influenc over his own boys was very good, and kept them out or revolutionary ways? This rather spoilt the proceedings, and the Governor in Conference sought the safer seclusion of the Governor in Council. One of the orders--there are apparently several--was not issued purposely at a date inconvenient to the Cuddalore Conference. Let us say that the Governor was not aware, on the hills of Ooty, of the annual Congress Provincial Conference at Cuddalore, the most important political meeting in his Presidency. The arrival of his order in the very nick of time to upset arrangements was only a coincidence. By a similar coincidence the same Government order arrived at Trichinopoly the day before Mrs.Annie Besant was presiding at a Theosophical Conference and holding a recruiting meeting. We do not know if it has arrived or will arrive at Tanjore, where she lectures, at an important school anniversary. The Governor must have keen eyes to see the support of the general body of public opinion to this coercive order. Each Conference held since its publication has denounced it, as have all the leading Indian papers. He will have the applause of Anglo-India. Another startling assumption is that loyalty to the Crown is not consistent with condemnation of the actions and motives of officials

in the service of the Government in all departments. In all departments' is, of course, merely a rhetorical exaggeration. But are officials sacrosanct? If so, Mr. Lloyd George was disloyal to the Crown when he turned out Mr. Asquith, and the Northcliffe press was revolutionary in its onslaughts on the Asquith, Ministry. That a man who was once an English Minister and a Radical could speak thus shows indeed the change wrought by the possession of irresponsible power. We, Home Rulers, desire to substitute responsible self-government for irresponsible autocracy, by constitutional means and an Act of Parliament. If that may not be done under the Union Jack, the sooner the flag is draped in crape for Indian use the better, that it may float over the grave of Liberty"

New India, of the 28th May, has the following:--

"The same old advice.

"The Madras Times gives its usual grandmotherly advice, that which His Excellency the Governor might have copied from its pages. The educated classes in India are being led to expect that which will not come. Led by whom? Are they children led by a nurse, or men claiming their natural rights? Agitation is never liked by men in power; but we were bidden by Dadabhai Naoroji: Agitate, agitate, agitate. It cannot be for India's good, says grandmother Times. That remains to be seen. Great Britain has set us the example, and agitation seems to have done her much good, and we hope it will serve India as well. Agitation is the only safe way of obtaining rights: it annulled the Partition of Bengal. But there was no agitation before the revolt of 1857. It was all silent, underground, conspiracy--the really dangerous thing. The Governor's speech, we are told by the Madras Mail,

created a deep effect. Probably, but a very unfavourable one, if we may trust the comments we have heard. It seems that while all the other nations, except the Central Powers, are looking forward to Liberty, India alone, may not even hope."

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527. His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech.

(Dated 29th May, 1917, Page ~~1217~~ 1551, Para 11.)

New India, of the 29th May, says:--Lord Pentland seems to believe that there is somebody who is leading the entire class of educated Indians by the nose.

Even his limited five-year experience ought to have convinced him that educated Indians will not be led, but only lead themselves. Who is leading them to expect Home Rule? We can begin with Dadabhai Naoroji and continue to fill up column after column with names till we come to the merest tyro in politics. They are their own leaders. It is absurd for Lord Pentland to argue that the present movement for the gaining of what he calls responsible self-government is the work of a few. It only shows how far from the truth Lord Pentland is. Does His Excellency think that if Lokmanya Tilak and Mrs.Besant are silenced this agitation and demand will cease? Surely he ought to be benefited by the experience of his Bengal colleagues, whose deportation of this, that and the other man has been in vain. It is really laughable that Lord Pentland should feel sure that I carry you with me when I say that, among Indians, acquainted with public affairs, nobody, having any true sense of responsibility,

considers it, or will declare it the expansion of Legislative Councils within the range of practical politics.'

"We do not know what steps ~~of~~ the non-official Indian members are going to take to make it clear to the President of the Council what their actual position is. Most of them, if not all of them, are Congressmen or members of the Muslim league, and as such hold opinions on the subject which go contrary to the wishes of His Excellency Lord Pentland. One of them, the Hon'ble Mr.Vankatapati Raju, had a fine opportunity and he embraced it. Lord Pentland made his speech on Empire Day, i.e., on 24th Maym yesterday, ie.,on the 28th May, the Honourable Member, who represents the important section of the public of Madras--the landholders--in the Legislative Council presiding over the Guntur District Conference, demanded Home Rule. Was the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju one of those who hear me'? Is he one of those men of leading and of influence, whether personal or hereditary who was called upon to dissociate himself from the agitation?

"But His Excellency got another answer from another quarter also. This time not from Repalli in the north, but from Trichinopoly in the south; not from a non-Brahmana but from a Brahmana; also a leading man and influential with the strength of heredity and the hharm of personality--the Hon'ble Mr.K.V.Rangaswami Ayyangar.

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"After the above was written and put in type has come on the wires the concluding speech of the Hon'ble Mr.Venkatapati Raju, which ought to make clear to His Excellency what his Councillors are thinking of his

threatening utterance. We congratulate the Hon'ble Mr.Raju for his statesmanlike warning and his courage in face of the gubernatorial dicta. He spoke the truth when he said that Indian politicians would not heed the advice or even such an eminent personage as Lord Pentland, that all thought of an early grant of responsible Government should be put out of mind even if he threatens repressive measures,' And we trust his sage consel will be remembered by the Indian public that they must not rest until self-government was obtained." "

Justice, of the 30th May, observes:--Because some gentlemen, who happen to be members of Legislative Councils, speak in favourable terms of the Home Rule Movement, New India jumps to the conclusion that Lord Pentland has been demolished. Nothing could be more palpably absurd. Lord Pentland knew that there were a few Home Rulers in this Presidency, and that there were some, perhaps, in his own Legislative Council. Was he afraid of them? Mrs.Besant has said in her paper that the British bureaucracy is afraid of the Brahmans. But she must admit that the head of the bureaucracy in this Presidency in the speech he made last week did not betray any symptom of fear. So far as the view embodied in that speech is concerned the opinion generally entertained in expressed in the footmote to the letter signed 'Truth' which we publish elsewhere. The writer says since writing the above I have had the exquisite pleasure of reading the wise and timely utterances of our beloved Governor at the Legislative Council. Every lover of India must rejoice that the Governor has spoken after all and dispelled the clouds and disillusioned the Home Rulers.'"

The following articles appear in New India of the

30th May under the major heading "On the line":--

"Re-action.

"It is clear from his last speech that Lord Pentland thinks, perhaps knows, that the present English Government intend to make only unsatisfactory response to India's formulated demands, for he says he fears the reaction of disappointment when the proposals are made. We have a wave of such disappointment already, on the Public Services Commission Report, in which, in flagrant breach of the Character of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858, the minimum number of English men in the Indian Civil Service and the Police Department is to be 75 per cent, while at the end of 30 years the Indian maximum of 25 per cent will be reached. No sign there, it will be admitted, of Home Rule, even in the dim and distant future. The sinister expressions as regards Home Rule confirm that which we had heard otherwise, and we cannot but recall the joyous words of S.Paul: To us it is given on behalf of Christ not only to believe on ~~Hxixx~~ Him, but also to suffer for His sake. We may re-echo: To us it will be given on behalf of Home Rule not only to believe in it, but also to suffer for its sake. Such suffering will only bring it nearer. Nothing can change, the natural, inalienable, in born right of a nation to rule itself, and surely India will not be the only country to be left under an autocracy on the morrow of the war.

"Support of the Madras Government.

"The support, by the Indian press, of the G.O.559 and of Lord Pentland's threats hardly seems to be what His Excellency expected, unless practically unanimous condemnation may be taken as support. The Anglo-Indian organs in Madras--the Madras Mail, Madras Times and Justice--

uphold him, and of that support he was sure beforehand. Outside Madras the same is seen. The chorus of condemnation rings over the land. Moreover several responsible and well-known politicians have addressed large meetings, and have re-asserted with added vehemence their determination to have self-government. The harsh denunciations of the righteous claims of Indians to rule themselves have only stiffened the backs of all patriotic sons of the motherland; The threats of His Excellency are supposed to be specially directed against Mrs. Besant, and it is said that action will be taken against her. If so, it will only prove the truth of her assertions as to the autocracy under which India suffers. She has broken no law, has acted wholly constitutionally in advocating a lawful change. If she be punished by an arbitrary act of the executive, a full demonstration will be given of the accuracy of her strictures."

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528. "Repression.

(Dated 31st May, 1917, Page 1555, Para 11.)

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New India, of the 31st May, has the following:--

"Repression.

"We trust we shall not be thought impertinent if we express our grateful admiration for the rare courgge with which Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the Editor of the Hindu, is grappling with His Excellency the Governor's threats of repression of the Home Rule agitation. The Governor utterly misunderstands the movement for self-government. He fancies that it is the movement of a few students inspired by a tiresome old woman, and that if he can crush the old woman under his heavy feel, all will be well with the best of all possible autocracies. No idea could be more false,

and if Mrs. Besant is interned, we hope that the agitation will progress by leaps and bounds. The Government are apparently afraid of attacking New India itself, as there would be another trial to face, whereas one vigorous stamp of the iron heel may squash the unpleasant black beetle of a Besant, and fulfil the ideal of the Madras Mail to break her once for all. But what a handle such action will give to Germany. How she will gloat over the contrast between English sayings in Europe, and the action of the English autocracy in India. Is it not disloyal to place such a weapon in her hands?"

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529. The Statesman and His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech.

(Dated 28th May, 1917, Page 1556, Para 12.)

New India, of the 28th May, has the following:--

"Only themselves to thank.

"The Statesman, which applauds Lord Pentland's Jeremiad, says that, after his warnings, those who persist in Home Rule propaganda will have only themselves to thank if repressive measures are found necessary. That is true of all martyrs and heroes known to history. The Christ had only himself to thank that being rich, for our sakes he became poor and was barbarously murdered. S. Paul had only himself to thank when his head was chopped off in Rome. Joan of Arc had only herself to thank when she was burned in Rouen. Winkelfried had only himself to thank when the crowded spears pierced his breast, and opened a gap for his peasants. Bruno had only himself to thank when he was burned in the Field of Flowers. Hampden had only himself to thank when he died gloriously. But why recite the long list of

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the men who died for men? Thank God for those who willingly offered themselves on the altar of service, who suffered by their own choice no man compelling them, because it was easier to suffer than to be at ease while a nation was in bondage."

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530. The Guntur District Conference.

(Dated 29th May, 1917, Page 1556, Para 14.)

New India, of the 29th May, states:--The President of the Guntur District Conference (the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapati Raju) had something wise and useful to say about education. He recommended continuous agitation against the view put forward by the bureaucrats that the Indians should not interfere in matters educational, and that the Anglo-Indians are the best persons to decide what kind of education is the best for India and what should be the nature of the examinations. It is a strange and ludicrous position: the foreigner, ignorant of Indian thought and feeling, whose materialistic outlook on life is devoid of spirituality, claims to be a better guardian and parent to Indian youths than the Indian father himself! The Hon'ble Mr. Raju informs us that His Excellency Lord Pentland thinks that as far as possible Indians are not to be Inspectors of Schools. In fact, it is high time that Indians really understood the situation. The present system of Indian education is calculated to denationalise our boys; patriotism is discouraged; book-learning, and poor book-learning at that, is made the sole and only aim of the boy at school; our college courses leave everything to be desired. The total influence of school and college contributes towards effeminacy, physical, moral and mental. It is a wonder that Indians parents and publicists have so long accepted such a condition without bestirring themselves. The time has come when a serious effort of

building a system of national education should be undertaken. We thoroughly agree with the Hon'ble Mr.Raju when he says that a system of education in accordance with the views of the people is as important as Home Rule itself. If that cannot be, it will be better to have no education at all. We understand that a scheme is being prepared by some influential Indian leaders to build up a system of national education and we trust it will not be late in coming."

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531. <u>The Police and the Zamindar of Elamballi.</u>

(Dated 5th June, 1917, Page 1605, Para 3.)

New India, of the 5th June, states:--Good citizens, who are also patriots, are subject to much petty annoyance just now. The Zamindar of Elamballi, for instance, who has most generously taken on Himself the whole cost and trouble of the Trichinopoly District Conference, and has made the most careful arrangements for the comfort of the delegates, who are his guests, was approached by a police officer, who told him that he was running a serious danger by harbouring Mrs.Annie Besant'. On enquiry as to his authority, he quickly took himself off. But why should a gentleman be so insulted by an impertinent policeman, and why should he be accused of harbouring one of his guest, as though he were a criminal protecting a criminal? "

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532. Private correspondence and the Criminal Investigation Department.

(Dated 6th June, 1917, Page 1606, Para 4.)

The following appears in New India of the 6th June:--

"Breach of faith.

"One of the most odious breaches of faith with the people, perpetrated by the oligarchy, is the interference with private correspondence. In India everybody's correspondence is at the marcy of the Criminal Investigation Department. We make no complaint of the opening of letters from abroad by the Military Censor; that is done openly and honestly. It is the odious cabinet noir of the French autocracy which flourishes in India. Are the spies so silly as to suppose that when friends meet they do not discover the thefts? The offenders do not even send the letters on, after ~~xxxxxxx~~ perusing them; they steal them. It is a hateful condition of things, and the flag of England is stained by it every day."

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533. Ireland and India.

(Dated 5th June, 1917, Page 1616, Para 20.)

New India, of the 5th June, observes:--The Premier of Great Britain made the following remarkable statement in a speech delivered when receiving the freedom of the City of London. Of India, admitting the help India had given to the empire, he said:--

I think I am entitled to ask that this loyal people should feel not that they are a subject race in the empire,

but partners with us. Timorous faint-heartedness, abhorrent in peace or war, in war is fatal. Britain has faced the problems of war with a courage which is amazing. She must face the problems of peace with the same brave spirit.

Not a subject race but partners. So says the Prime Minister of England. But Lord Pentland threatens to silence those who dare to task for self-government. He claims to know that Indians are to remain a subject race; they are not fit for responsible government, and he will punish the irresponsible people who say they are. Luckily for the Prime Minister, he does not live in the Madras Presidency. He is obviously an irresponsible person and has no stake in the country. As we expected, Mr. Lloyd George's declaration that India must no longer be a subject race, has roused much interest and approval abroad. France, who knows India, is much rejoiced at the Premier's promise, for England's autocracy in India is a great blot on the shield of the Allies, and gives cause to the enemy to blaspheme in a way most painful to free France and free Italy. If the threats of Lord Pentland are carried out, and the other Provinces follow suit, the victory of the Allies will be seriously delayed and new hopes will be aroused in Germany. The angry articles in the Indian press will be translated and published in Germany. The autocracy, in its anxiety to keep its privileges has sacrificed the interests of the empire--a curious proof of loyalty."

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534. <u>India's fitness for self-government.</u>

(Dated 6th June, 1917, Page 1616, Para 21.)

New India, of the 6th June, states:--"Those who declare that India is not yet fit for self-government neglect to take into consideration that which does not show itself on the surface. They judge, too, by the conditions under which self-government exists in the West, and they jump to the conclusion that because these conditions do not exist in India therefore India is not fit for self-government. For example, England has free and compulsory education. Most English people can read and write. English people have for many years been accustomed to self-government. In India, on the other hand, there is no free and compulsory education. Few people in India can read and write. Since the advent of British rule, the Indian people has ceased to be accustomed to self-government. Therefore, India is not fit for self-government! The fact is that England gained Home Rule under the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, when there was no free and compulsory education; when such Government as there was ~~was~~ rotten to the core, when few people could read and write. India was civilised when England had not even begun to exist. India was civilised while England was still in a state of savagery. India's fitness for self-government dates from the remote past, and not from the time at which the congress agitation began. It is true that the title of England to self-government in 1832 was not her then condition, but the face that she had been trained through long centuries to realise that freedom depends upon self-discipline. The period of the Georges was a period of comparative anarchy, corruption, and licentiousness, stalking unchallenged throughout the land. But the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the misery of the people restored her to her senses, and though the surroundings of the

the Reform Bill of 1832, if looked at by themselves, would certainly make any sane individual regard her as totally unfit for self-government, the spirit of self-government and freedom was only asleep, for it had existed in the past. While the history of England stretches back but hundreds of years, the ~~enormous mass of Indian iron has also~~ the history of India stretches back thousands; and while the little piece of english iron has become hot through being beaten upon during hundreds of years, the enormous mass of Indian iron has also become hot through being hammered for thousands of years. Those who really know India declare that the iron must be struck because it is already hot. To the British rule we owe the awakening of India from sleep. The free spirit of England, awake,--has called to the free spirit of India--until recently asleep. It may be that our rulers have wrought better than they knew, and that they are alarmed at that which they have evoked. The pride of the west has made the west believe that all that it is, is new. Western archaeologists, historians, orientalists, through the distorted atmosphere imposed by that belief, have refused to accept the ancient eastern history, which might have taught them, had they been willing to learn, that the acquaintance of India with self-government began ages before England was either born or thought of."

535- <u>Post War reforms.</u>

(Dated 9th June, 1917, Page 1685, Para 11.)

The following appears in New India of the 9th June:--

"The Danger to-day.

"The chief danger of to-day is the good which is the enemy of the best. There are rumours sedulously spread of another Indian member in the Executive Councils, and other

petty reforms. They are dangled before the eyes of expectant suitors to bribe them into giving up the Congress scheme. What good have the Indian members brought to India, whether in the Executive or Legislative Councils? Have they prevented one coercive enactment from being passed? Have they, on the Executive, prevented the issue of a single oppressive order? And now, when their handle of Honourable' might be of use to the people if they resigned, as it would draw attention, they sit quiet, and do not even protest against the threats of Lord Pentland. The rulers say that they find them of great use. We have no doubt of it; their silence and submissiveness sanction every oppression."

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536. Lord Pentland's speech.

(Dated 11th June, 1917, Page 1686, Para 12.)

New India, of the 11th June, states:--His Excellency the Governor, in his now famous speech, spoke of this campaign of constant detraction and condemnation, directed against the actions and motives of officials in the service of the Government in all its departments. And again: This reckless campaign of calumny. His Excellency the Governor has had, and has, in his hands, a weapon by which he could have stopped any such campaign at its very inception. A compaign of calumny, directed against the actions and motives of Government servants in all departments, would certainly come under the clause of the Press Act exciting hatred and contempt against any class of His Majesty's subjects. If it has been allowed to go on, it has gone on by His Excellency's connivance, and he has failed in his duty by not ordering his complaisant magistracy to impose security, forfeit security, impose heavier security, forfeit the heavier security, confiscate the press. He is all powerful; he does not regard the

High court, for he has kept the security which the High Court declared to have been illegally imposed. If he can justify against New India his accusation, why has he not stopped it, and left Mrs. Annie Besant to take her illusory remedy in the High Court? If he was aiming at other journals why has he not stopped them. (~~To make a querulous complaint of this sort, unsupported by any evidence, by any indication of the journal or journals, why has he not stopped them?~~) To make a querulous complaint of this sort, unsupported by any evidence, by any indication of the journal or journals aimed at, and any reason why he allowed it to go on when he could have stopped it, and announced his intention to resort to other measures not yet to be found in India's great armoury of coercive enactments--all this is unintelligible to the plain man. The Defence of India Act is a more convenient weapon, for that silences the victim, drops him out of sight into the convenient oubliette, and leaves him there. Then he can be balckened at leisure, with vague hints, and shakings of the head, I could and I would, such as have been indulged in by Lord Willingdon and Sir Benjamin Robertson."

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537. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 13th June, 1917, Page 1688, Para 18.)

In a leader on Conscience, New India, of the 13th June, remarks:-The Indian Home Ruler believes that Home Rule must soon come to India. He knows full well that ~~liberty~~ liberty never came to any country without being preceded by some sort of a struggle. He knows, too, that ultimate success does not depend upon numbers but upon sincerity. Looking backwards down the ages of history, he sees how every great reform in every country was the work, first

of one, then of two or three, then of the few, until at last the country becoming accustomed to the expression of the new truth, unconsciously robed herself in it and claimed it as her own. The history of the struggle for Home Rule for India unmistakably shows the signs by which all great movements are known. Within a short time, may be, the stage of persecution will come. If so, then, but one more sign is added as evidence of its divinely appointed purpose. And now the preaching stage is almost done. We have spoken for our great truth. Are we now willing to suffer for it? That is to say, are we willing to stand by our truth against a majority which would crush it out of existence? It is a matter of conscience. And true conscience, conscience unfettered, is inexorable even in the trivialities. Whatever happens, those who are truly worthy of being the recipients of so magnificent a truth, cannot abate one jot or tittle of their attitude. Causes have only been won when their advocates have pursued their mission relentlessly to the end. And they do not care to know whether any will follow them, or whether they will be left unhelped and unsupported. Man has but his conscience as his guide.

"That is why some of us who are Home Rulers are not only confident, but certain, of success. We believe that the time is ripe for Home Rule. We believe that if we show, and suffer for, our sincerity and conviction, God will send others after us. It is God's work we are doing, not our own. Until we succeed, these words may be blasphemy, but when success has been achieved ~~they will be seen achieved~~ they will be seen to have been an inspiration. And we are content, as all reformers have ever been content, that we should be regarded as blasphemers, traitors, cowards, for we belong to the future, are working for it, and can be judged by the future alone."

538. "Resurgam.

(Dated 21st June, 1917, Page 1752, Para 9.)

The following appears in New India of the 21st June:--

"Resurgam.

"Today New India makes its appearance after a suspension of its issue for three days. That, in the first place, is a profaundly satisfactory events in the struggle for freedom upon which Lords Chelmsford and Pentland have been persuaded to engage with the people of this country. The blow which was strukk at Mrs.Besant was drastic and thorough for the time being. No time, no interval was allowed to put her affairs in order, to enable her to transfer to other hands the business of the production of this paper or any other publication for which she was responsible. The moment the order was served, the publication of New India automatically ceased, for simultaneously her two chief lieutenants were struck down. That, no doubt, was a supremely gratifying reflection to her oppressors and it would have been a correspondingly gloomy one to her friends and all those who stand for freedom, if the blow, so far as this journal, which Mrs.Besant has made the lusty trumpet of freedom, a bugle-call for liberty, was concenred, had been effectual and mortal. but Lord Pentland and those who have acted with him in this attempt to stifle and suppress freedom of discussion have yet to learn the lesson, which history should have taught them--that you may strike down, imprison or place in fetters the leaders of great causes a hundred times, but the cause itself will live; and that the banner of freedom, once unfurled, though it may fall in the dust agains and again, will always be uplifted afresh to be borne and carried forward by brave and willing hands. Thus New India, which Lord Pentland sought to slay, though on

Sunday last, it lay bleeding from a treacherous blow, today arises to wage anew the battle for Freedom and Home Rule for India. The idea has been assiduously cultivated, that Mrs.Besant and the Home Rule League stood for some extreme policy, going far beyond the Congress propgramme, and that the bulk of the Congress workers looked at her askance. All this, of course, sounds extraordinary enough to those who know the real state of Indian politics. But it is evidently what Lord Pentland, in his supreme ignorance of what is going on around him, has been led to believe. There is no doubt that those who organised, as well as those who dealt, the blow at Mrs.Besant, supposed that they were discriminating between an Extremist and a Moderate movement, and that the adherents of the latter would stand aside when the blow was dealt. Does the Government of Lord Pentland, do Lord Chelmsford and the Government of India realise now the force of opinion that is arrayed against them? It is not merely a troublesome old lady with a bee in her bonnet. It is the champion of a great movement, whose supporters, including the most wealthy men in the country, have sprung to arms ready to stand by the cause and to fight the battle for freedom. We do not disguise the loss to the cause of Home Rule which the removal of Mrs.Besant involves; we do not ignore the immensity of the gap which is left by the deprivation of her organizing genius, her guiding hand, her never-failing energy and indomitable courage, her inspiring leadership; but we cannot ignore the immense strength and impetus, which has been given to the cause she led by the blow sought to be aimed at it through her. The cause not only lives but its pulses beat a hundred times faster today when, and because, she who gave it so much life is placed in fetters by the ukase of Lord Pentland's Government. In the House of Commons Mr.Bonar Law on Saturday announced the release without reservation of the Irish rebel prisoners in order to ensure a completely harmonious atmosphere at the Convention for Irish Home Rule.

On the very same day three loyal British subjects in India are interned and deprived of the most previous liberties a man can possess, without trial, not because they have rebelled or given comfort to the enemy, not because they have opposed the war, not because they have not loyally supported the war, and not for any military reason whatsoever, but because they have ~~xxxx~~ led a movement for the extension in practice of those principles of popular liberty to the people of India, whose loyal support of the Empire and sacrifice in the war undoubtedly saved the cause of the Allies at the supremely critical juncture and at every subsequent stage.

What again, is to be thought of a Governmental system, if it stands in need of administrators who, to preserve its safety, must flagrantly defy the ppincipales laid down by their masters? There is only one answer--that a system of Government which has reached a stage, where it must rely for its safety on internments without trial and the suppression of speech and writing, is bankrupt, and stands in need of radical reform. The only remedy is to confer on the people of this country that liberty and control over their own affairs, which British statesmen have declared to be the right of every people; for which right they are waging the most stupendous war known to history. It rests with the men and women of India whether that issue is brought home to the people of England. We have no ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ misgivings despite temporary checks, of the ultimate outcome.

"B.G.HORNIMAN."

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539. The Times of India and the Madras Internments.

(Dated 22nd June, 1917, Page 1757, Para 14.)

New India, of the 22nd June, has the following:--

"The Times of India is a convinced imperialist, and therefore pretends an abhorrence of repressive or reactionary executive measures! But the Times of India has in fact extended its approval to every measure of repression, every measure leading to the loss of liberty inherent in Indians as citizens of the British Empire. In the present case of Mrs. Besant, the Times of India regards her internment as not only absolutely necessary, but even overdue by several years! We believe the Times of India would have liked to see Mrs. Besant interned as soon as she began to take part in politics. But xxxx that could not have been done unless the Defence of India Act were antedated by more than three years, and were supported to be operating when the war had not commenced and India was not in danger. For Mrs. Besant had definitely begun her advocacy of self-government for India before the war commenced. In the absence of the Defence of India Act, she could have been dealt with under the ordinary Penal Code: but all the world now knows that the Government fears to use the Penal Code as much as a child fears to fire a cracker. It is indeed far from being chivalrous or even sportsmanlike on the part of Government to claim a heavy handicap in their own favour in their fight with a lady, and from behind a safe legal redoubt to discharge their deadly guns at her while she has to stand in the open field without any cover absolutely. But a bureaucxxcy apparently forgets even the ordinary rules of right dealing in its desperate fight for power. Whose fault is it that, when the time is admittedly ripe for great measures of political reforms, Government do not respond to the national call, and even to elaborate constructive proposals

suggested by the accumulated political wisdom of quarter of a century and sanctioned by the unanimous voice of the nation, with anything better than an impudent pose of non-possumus, and a vulgar threat, in the bargain, of the use of mere physical force at the command of the State to silence their critics? The Government of India placing itself at the head of the national forces in India'--that would indeed be a sight for Gods and men! That would in one moment put an end to all hostile criticism of Government measures. That would fittingly cap the avowed policy of liberalism for which England has entered into the war and has also persuaded America to follow in her wake!"

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540. Dr.T.M.Nayar on Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 26th June, 1917, Page 1323, Para 13.)

The following appears in New India, of the 26th June:-- "It is with some pity not unmingled with amusement, that we have persued a signed letter by Dr.Nayar, which originally appeared in Justice and which has been reproduced with solemn joy in the Madras Mail--practically in extenso, omitting only biographical glimpses. It is not our purpose here to enter into the field of religion or to discuss anybody's beliefs and it is undoubtedly difficult for one who, like the worhty Doctor, is a quick change artist in his opinions and outlook, to appreciate religious views or indeed anything others sincerely held and openly expressed, even though they may be unpopular. The policy of this paper has been strictly to eschew personalities except so far as may be necessary to criticise the public or administrative actions of public men or men in authority; but when we find that persons in the position of Dr.Nayar are privileged, according to his own complacent declaration, to discuss with His Excellency the Governor the political

situation--a privilege which so far does not seem to have been estended to any of the real leaders of the people--and when we also find that the discussions are bearing fruit in a repressive policy, it is our duty to protest against the legerdemain which has converted the ardent Radical of 15 years ago into the trusted and reactionary adviser of Government in a mistaken policy. The Doctor's repeated and temporary farewells to public life have been numerous and dramatic -the last resulting in the resignation of his seat on the Corporation after a controversy with Mr.Molony and not very long after, the election of Mr.Ranga Achariar to the Legislative Council. It is his task now to plead the cause of those with a stake in the country with the vehemence of the recent convert. We wonder if Dr.Nayar had at any period before this sympathised with those who have to taste the troublesome pleasures of owning and managing lands or even houses, if these are the stakes which are now talked about. When successive defeats in consecutive popular contests have chastened the Doctor's spirit and soured his temper, it is easy for him to refer to the Kilmainham Jail and to Mr.Birrell and to congratulate the Government on putting a stop to public danger. Even had his past career not unfitted him to be a proper judge of popular thoughts and ideals, the present outburst of indignation throughout the land at the policy pursued by the Government of Madras, shared as it is by merchants and traders, like Messrs. Bomanji and Hon'ble Manmohandas Ramji, by hundreds of Non-Brahmanas and the quodam opponents of Mrs.Besant in religious and other matters, like the leaders of the United Provinces and Bombay, must convince the Government of the folly of trusting to the guidance of men who represent none but themselves and whose claims to represent others have been persistently rejected nearly as often as made. Most Indians will feel that to the sacrilege of calling himself a Yogi even in jest, he has added the blunders of a false prophet.

To some who were startled spectators of the unexpected

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divorce of Dr.Nayar from his lieutenancy and the Hospitalship Madras, and to those especially who listened awe-struck to his reported sayings, his participation with Lord Pentland in grave personal conversations on the political situation, and his warnings to his countrymen to desist from controversy in War time, present an aspect of matters which recalls a saying of Meredith: Life is a tragedy with the laughter of Gods in the background."

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541. The Empire Resources Development Committee.

(Dated 26th June,,1907, Page 1329, Para 14.)

The Indiann Patriot, of the 26th June, states:--As we have repeatedly said, the question immediately before political India--aoart from the immediate and very large following of Theosophists and political followers of Mrs.Annie Besant--is not merely the internments. There are many, on the other hand, who think that the Madras Government were driven to take the step by a campaign of almost reckless writing. That, however, is not the question at issue. Ir is whether the interments betoken a regime of repression. The speech of His Excellency Lord Pentland is remembered; the explanatory press note is forgotten, at any rate it has not effectively quieted the feelings stirred up by the

New India, of the 26th June, writes:--Under the heading The White Man's Burden ' there is a frank article in the Daily News, which gives another aspect of the case presented by the Empire Resources Development Committee. We have been hearing a good deal of this committee for some time past and we also know that Lord Islington, Under Secretary of State for India, is intimately connected with this body.

Having learnt by now the insidious way in which this committee is going to exploit the resources of India, among others, for the sake of lightening the burden on England and the Dominions we must resist this proposal with all the strength that we can command. We are willing to bear our share of the war burden. That, we believe, we have shown by the splendid response which India has made to the war loan. So when we resist this encorachment upon our industirial and material resources we will not be deemed in any way disloyal. All that we desire today is to be allowed to work up our salvation for ourselves and then to be asked to contribute a reasonable share of the Empire's burden. One without the other would be unjust and the war is not an unjust war so far as the British Empire is concerned. If the Empire Resources Development Committee be allowed to exploit India for their benefit, it would mean a staggering blow to India's prosperity. Under the present circumstances we feel convinced that unless we strive for and achieve home-rule immediately after the war, we shall be economically ruined with the thoroughness observable in the case of the native population in Rhodesia, under the rule of the British traders. We want to have a placein the sun and we must rise to the occasion and work for our own political and economical uplifting. Home rule is the only salvation of India."

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542. Public meetings--their utility or futility.

(Dated 27th June, 1917, Page 1331, Para 17.)

In an article on this subject, New India, of the 27th June, observes:--When the Press Act was launched against New India about a year ago, a laborious correspondent computed that 119 public meetings had been held in the country, protesting against the imposition of the security. Yet, ~~so great~~ so great was the regard shown by the Government for public opinion, that within a few months, the first security was forfeited and a second and heavier one imposed. We do not mean to minimise the effect of public meetings. We believe, on the other hand, that the volume of public opinion can become irresistible even to a bureaucracy which holds itself infallible and omnipotent. The Lancashire Deputation to Parliament was not ashamed to hold out the threat that, unless the cotton duties were repealed, their efforts for the War would be seriously affected and they wrung a promise from the Cabinet to reconsider the question after the war. It may be bad ethics, but it is the English method of political work; and beneath the thick hide of the bureaucrat, His Excellency Lord Pentland is still an English politician.

We would, therefore, venture to point out to the conveners and the thousands that attended last Thursday's public meeting in Madras that our duty does not end with a protest meeting, but it begins there. Only a few can speak and give expression to public feeling, but every one has the opportunity to act. If the Hon'ble Mr.B.N.Sarma could say to His Excellency that there are thousands of reasons why Mrs.Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia should be immediately liberated--and the crowds that attended the public

meeting could make themselves into solid and substantial reasons by taking and spreading the Swadeshi Vow-- we believe His Excellency could be persuaded to convince himself that it is not the presence of these three interned patriots in Madras, but the action of the Governor in Council that is really prejudicial to public safety."

We would therefore repeat to the public, the refrain from the Bhagavad Gita: Therefore act, Arjuna. Let us all act and act immediately and even the humblest of us can contribute to the strength of the agitation by taking the Swadeshi Vow. Let another public meeting be held in Madras for taking the Swadeshi Vow, and it may be that just as His Excellency was moved by very great considerations-presumably of Mrs.Besant's old age and health--to come down to Madras to serve the internment orders, similar considerations may induce him to spare her the rigours of a Nilgiris winter and revoke the order before very long.

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543. <u>The dangers of leadership.</u>

(Dated 3rd July, 1917, Page 1881, Para 13.)

In an article on this subject, New India, of the 3rd July states:--All who were in the know at the great public meeting of protest in Gokhale Hall were aware what were the real feelings of the meeting, and specially of the delegates who came from mufassal towns. The meeting clamoured to go far further than the organisers were willing to let it go. It is no secret that a resolution for the recall of Lord Pentland was asked for; and above all that most present in the audience, though not many among the leaders, expected the swadeshi vow to be given. Did the Madras leaders make a mistake, or were the mufassal delegates mistaken in their reading of the popular mind? It would hardly seem the latter, from the downs of resolutions passed everywhere about the swadeshi vow. It is mode of lawful constitutional expression of the opinions of the people on the internment of Mrs.Besant and her two colleagues; it is a democratic method of agitation for the cancellation of the internment which the people find most congenial and thorough-going. The city of Madras so far on this matter has not openly publicly been given the lead by any leader. There are thousands who would like the swadeshi vow to be given them at a solemn and sacred meeting.

"There are many reputations at stake just now; one is of Madras, as a leader of the province. Not a few were the delegates who openly said:--If Madras will not lead us, we shall no longer look to Madras to give the tone to our political life. We should fail in our dity to the public if we did not point out the dangers; democracy is not very patient at crisis. When the people clamour to be led, they should be led forward."

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544. The demand for Home Rule.

(Dated 5th July, 1917, Page 1885, Para 19.)

New India, of the 5th July, writes:--Amongst the multitude of counsels which candid friends impress upon the people of this country to induce them to desist from agitation or educative propaganda on behalf of the urgent reforms required in the Government of their land, there is one to which we would draw special attention today. One argument which is supposed to be very conclusive by anti-Home Rulers against this demand is that it is not right right to proceed with it at a time when the Empire is engaged in a stern struggle on behalf of liberty. We are also told, that in refraining from doing so, we in India will be only giving effect to a policy and understanding accepted by all political parties in England. It is needless, of course, to point out that the summoning of the Imperial Conference, the constitution of the Imperial War Cabinet and the carrying through in Parliament of Electoral Reform and women's suffrage on a scale unparalleled in the history of Parliamentary progress in England, constitute by themselves a conclusive reply to our candid friends. We in India have been crying hoarse over the failure of the Government to make a declaration in favour of our just aspirations for self-government and though this demand has now been backed up by the London Times, the declaration ~~in favour of our just aspi~~ is yet to come. The principle on which this avoidance of controversy is advocated has thus been mischievously misconceived and is the reverse of the state of things in England. Apart from the identity of Hindu-Musalman entente and the union achieved of the two great communities in Lucknow last year, apart from the unification of the two wings of the Congress which has now been accomplished on the basis of constitutional agitation for self-government within

the Empire, there does not exist any class of the people of India, who, on account of the demand for Home Rule, can, by any conceivable hypothesis, raise a violent political controversy with any other class. Where, then, does the violent political controversy or, as we may put it, the violent opposition to legitimate reforms come from? It comes from the bureacratic class and their henchmen in the Anglo-Indian press. That the people of the country should be penalised with repression, because the opponents of their legitimate demand are fierce over it, is a process of vicarious suffering which only the authors can have the hardihood to justify."

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545. <u>The Maharaja of Bobbili and Home Rule.</u>

(Dated 5th July, 1917, Page 1885, Para 20.)

New India, of the 5th July, states:--The old Maharaja of Bobbili has preferred his old love, the Madras Mail, among the anit-Home Rule agencies, for the communication of his precious views on Home Rule for India. Those who have known this astute Zamindar's previous performances will not be unfamiliar with the paternal style which he always affects when he addresses his appeals to the members of his own class, nor will they be surprised at views which to the average educated citizen of the day will come forth as from a sepulchre or from the remnants of a bygone age. We fancy no one ever expected the Maharaja of Bobbili, with his training, antecedents and associations, to be disposed a priori in favour of anything like democratic institutions. For, call it Home Rule, self-government, Congress propaganda, constitutional reform, or whatever you will-it is certainly a thing which no aristocrat, least of all one who has such natural pride of ancestry and autocratic dominion, can feel

natural sympathy for. Such sympathy can come about only as a result of a political education rare among this class in India and more often denied to them in the atmosphere in which they live. Neither the Ruling Chiefs nor the estate holders belonging to any of the ancient classes of nobility in the land, have cared to interest themselves in the politics of the average man, much less in the politics of the educated classes in British India. It is, no doubt, open to the Maharaja of Bobbili and those who think with him, to believe that as their status is chiefly based on land they must take Lord Pentland's warning as a piece of friendly advice, if not as a paternal one, as he is the representative of the King-Emperor. But when he went beyond his own class, or rather his own adherents in that class, to tender advice to those who disapprove of the internments, he was guilty of the very thing with which he most wantonly charged Mrs. Besant in connection with her interview with His Excellency, viz., impertinence. It is impertinence for him to tell the people far more in touch with public opinion and conversant with the affairs of the common folk than this aristocratic Zamindar can be, that it was a foolish thing for any one of them to speak against the internments and that if they were the well-wishers of interned they should go to Mrs. Besant and give her sound advice. For all that their Anglo-Indian detractors may do to collect and magnify trifles, they will hardly trouble their heads over the out-of-date lucubrations of a retired Zamindar, though he may have been decorated with the mere title of a Maharaja by a paternal government of bureaucrats.

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546. The advocacy of self-government in England and India.

(Dated 10th July, 1917, Page 1935, Para 12.)

New India, of the 10th July, writes:--A writer in the London Daily News, discussing the conversion of General Smuts from the foe of Great Britain into one of its most brilliant instruments, recalls to mind that General Botha once said that three words saved South Africa for the British Empire. What were they, he was asked. Methods of Barbarism, he replied. Those words uttered by the official leader of the Liberal Party sent a thrill through our people.

The writer, further, points out that there were two men whom the Boer Generals, had learned to trust, Kitchener in South Africa and Campbell-Bannerman at home. Kitchener offered his terms to the Boer Generals and asked them to accept them assuring them at the same time that in a year, or at most in two years, there will be a Liberal Government in England and you will get self-government. It was this prophecy and Campbell-Bannerman's fulfilment of the prophecy that saved South Africa to the Empire.

"The writer then triumphantly exclaims that it was the last struggle of Imperialism and Liberalism in the governance of the British Confederation, and it is the triumph of the Liberal idea of self-government that the presence of General Smuts in our midst today represents. (Italics are ours).

"Was that struggle the last? If so, how is it that in India an earnest advocacy of self-government was declared by the Parliamentary trustee of Indian interests as a dangerous political agitation which might even be disastrous to India

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~~India~~ and that it was an undesirable political progaganda for students? Is India not a member of the British Confederation? What is the present struggle between educated India and the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy but a fight to the finish between brummagem Imperialism and large-hearted Liberalism? May we ask our Anglo-Indian friends, putting them on their oath as jurors, to read and digest this passage and say with as much sincerity and impartiality as may be furnished by the quantum of British blood coursing in their veins, whether it does not contain exactly the idea and the argument that Mrs. Annie Besant and her New India have been endeavouring to progagate in this country and whether the venerable lady and her faithful gifted lieutenants were not deprived of their liberty by a once Radical Governor because of such endeavour, whereas General Smuts and President Wilson have been almost deified by their countrymen at home for leading them from the darkness produced by the never-ending ancient European antagonisms into a nobler plane of ideas, clearing the issue and moralising their case? May we not, with the same writer, say that this difference in treatment is due to the machinery of Government in England scrapped by Mr. Lloyd George. He has made Lord Milner his right-hand man and has seated Lord Curzon on his left hand, and we may add, Austen Chamberlain on the gadi of the Great Moghul at Downing Street. He has closured the voice of the Nation abroad and has made Lord Northcliffe the mercury of his ideas. It is this surrender of the interests of democracy to the enemies of democracy that is the ultimate root of the distrust that prevails, and the discontent that has gone deep in the labour world'--and we may add--in the Indian continent."

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547. The making of leaders.

(Dated 13th July, 1917, Page 1936, Para 13.)

In concluding an article on this subject, New India, of the 13th July remarks:--These are times when courageous declaration of principles is required and one way to impress it is indicated by the United Provinces and Bombay leaders by joining the Home Rule League. What must we think of those here and elsewhere who have not done so? We know that however much we may shield and protect them in these columns, they are marked men in the young Indian public who have now the occasion to know who are truly their leaders and who are only nominally so, because they want to be in the good books of both the Government and the people. We feel the process at work which is sifting our publicists into grain and chaff and a few days more will clearly show where stands who:

"Members of young India, here is a magnificent opportunity before you. Do not wait to be led; endeavour to be leaders yourselves; do not be deterred by Government frowns; do not be tempted by bureaucratic favours; do not fall prey to any system of political jobbery. Resolve to be a man of the people and shun equally praise and blame from the opposite camp of those who are fighting against our freedom. Be courageous, be firm, be persistent and remember that unless the interned leaders are released, your foremost duty is to intern, boycott, reject everything--bureaucratic and official. The motherland has proclaimed her needs, she has raised the cry: who will deliver me from bondage; which of my sons will be heroes in the strife. The time for waverers and sycophants is over, that for courageous, dauntless, single-eyed patriots has arrived. Who will make the adequate response and find a place in the history of India?"

548. Internment day.

(Dated 1 6th July, 1917, Page 1979, Para 2.)

The following appears in New India, of the 16th July:-- We hear that orders have been served by the police on a number of leading people in the Madras City, who are to take part in to-day's meetings, prohibiting the projected processions. These orders will, we hope, be tested as to their validity in due course; but we shall say here that it is a most serious and uncalled-for infrigement of fundamental civic liberties. If we disapprove of any act of Government, we ought, as British subjects, to have full liberty to express our disapproval in all constitutional ways; and demonstrations in the form of procession have been a very well recognised mode in England, in India and in all constitutionally governed countries. We need hardly say that the meetings will be held as arranged, though the processions will be dropped."

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549. Protest meetings and aided institutions.

(Dated 18th July, 1917, Page 1980, Para 5.)

In an article commenting on the prohibition against protest meetings being held in Government aided schools, New India, of the 18th July, writes:--It is obvious that Government did not expect and do not like the holding of so many and such indignant public meetings all over the country, protesting against the impropriety and unwisdom of applying against political leaders engaged in ordinary constitutional agitation, the provisions of an extraordinary war measure, such as the Defence of India Act, undoubtedly is. Our Government is like the physician who wants to cover up the

sores in his patient's body with fine clothes, and exhibit him as perfectly sound. The prohibition of public meetings, of the publication of their proceedings, the issuing of orders that speakers should not use strong language, all this is obviously for the purpose of concealing from the world in general and from the higher authorities in England in particular, the formidable indignation and discontent caused among the people by the Government's highhanded policy of repression. The tendency of the executive to scent sedition in the most constitutional and law-abiding methods of agitation is notorious. When the Government as a body has embarked on a policy of repression, almost every officer is disposed to be highhanded and tyrannical. It will be much better to prohibit once for all criticism, however fair, of Government's actions, than to allow it in law, but try to put it down by executive persecution."

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550. Great Britain and Self-Government for India.

(Dated 14th July, 1917, Page 1983, Para 15.)

New India, of the 14th July, writes:--"The question of the Liberty and Self-Government and the undictated development of all peoples, whether European or Asiatic, is the most pressing of practical questions at the present moment, according to these statesmen; and it must be settled, as President Wilson has observed, by immediately undertaking practical means. It is certainly not a question whose solution can be put off now: nor will such solution ever be accomplished by pious sentiments and fine phrases, such as those in which some of our candid friends' have recently been indulging. The aspirations of Indians for securing to themselves a fair chance of life and liberty have led them to undergo sacrifices and sufferings for ideals which they share with

Great Britain, France, Russia, America. India has son for this the unstinted admiration of English statesmen and the Prime Minister himself has spoken of satisfying her aspirations. There is, therefore, no manner of excuse, for the autocrats and bureaucrats in this country to arrogate to themselves the right of judgment in this matter. The right is not theirs, as the late Governor of Bengal was careful to remind the public once; and in professing to determine the future fate of this country, the Imdian bureaucracy is trespassing on the sovereign rights of their masters, the British democracy. In declaring open war against the legitimate and just aspirations of the educated classes in this country, they have undertaken a policy for which they have received no mandate whatever or even support from that sovereign authority.

In the course of the un-British and cowardly steps which have been recently taken to remove Mrs.Besant out of the fight, they spoke, through the mouth of the Great Moghul, till recently holding sway at Downing Street, of Mrs. Besant's activities (which simply represent and typify the exertions of all Indians for freedom, as dangerous. Yes, they are dangerous--to bureaucratic tyranny and misrule. All assertions of liberty are dangerous to autocracy; all work for the extension of popular Government on democratic lines must prove disastrous to despotic sway exercised by an official supercaste. If the movement worked by Mrs.Besant and others is to be impugned by British officials as a danger to British rule here and to the Empire as a whole, then the whole vaunted mission of Britain in the world, together with the words of her leaders and the work of her soldiers, must be declared a mere sham. Great Britain cannot allow her sons to deny that justice and freedom to people over whom for the time being they happen to be placed in authority and go before the Council of Nations to plead for justice and freedom for other peoples. Such a situation would not only be

extremely humiliating, but would furnish an effective weapon in the hands of her enemies to cast a slur on her fair name and fame."

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551. Repression versus Reason.

(Dated 17th July, 1917, Page 1985, Para 19.)

In an article under this heading, New India, of the 17th July, remarks:--Amidst the infinite diversity of methods adopted by the Executive in all the provinces of India, to carry on the policy of the repression of the Home Rule campaign, there is a singular unanimity of aim animating the actions of the agents of the bureaucratic administration. This aim, as the fates would have it, is asserting itself in these actions the more forcibly, as one act of repression succeeds another. The more clearly the responsible heads of the administration declare that they would not interfere with legitimate constitutional agitation, the more severely do their agents in the several provinces and districts repress legitimate, peaceful, constitutional agitation. It may be the Police Act, the Criminal Codes, the Defence of India Act; whatever, in their view, is handly enough to be used for stopping meetings, demonstrations, speeches or comments in newspapers relating to the internments, to Home Rule Leagues or Swadeshi lectures, is quite sufficient for a number of these officers, European and Indian, to avail themselves, of to see that these things are put down.

It is high time that the legality of most of these acts of Executive highhandedness are tested before the courts of the land. If, as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has proved in his learned article printed by us yesterday, even

some of the actions of the Executive taken under the all-powerful Defence of India Act can be impugned before the courts as frauds upon power, it seems obvious that actions, for which some of the Executive officers quote or misquote the provisions of the ordinary law of the land, ought not to be left unchallenged."

552- Ireland and India.

(Dated 23rd July, 1917, Page 2035, Para 15.)

New India, of the 23rd July, has the following:--Many Home Rulers quote Ireland bemoans a writer in the Times of India, but Ireland had its martial law after the rebellion; and so, according to this xxxxx writer, who makes rather a parade of his commonsense, India has to have her martial law in the shape of the Defence of India Act. That in India there has been no rebellion, no short-lived republic set up by half brained youths and despairing elders, is a circumstance that of course, he coveniently omits to take into consideration. But apart from this, is it true that Ireland does not furnish an analogy to India? Any unprejudiced survey of the conditions in Ireland and India will convince any one that Ireland and India stand on almost the same footing, though physically and geographically Ireland cannot be compared with India. But the conditions of political, social and economic Government have a striking similarity. In India the complaint is the same. Romesh Dutt's Economic History of India, Victorian Age, is an imperishable indictment of the industrial and political system, which directly and indirectly has led to the moral and material impoverishment of the people. That our rulers have been actuated by the best of intentions and have set about their work with a view to ameliorate the condition of

the people, does not detract one whit from the xxxxxx evils which a wrong-headed policy has wrought on the people of this once contented and prosperous land. Ireland is getting Home Rule in spite of the Ulster clique, because, as Mr.Bonar Law recently remarked, on the debate on the Indians cotton duties, it is a case of whoever gives more trouble. But even though Indian agitators are less clamant and more reasonable in their demand than their Irish fellow citizens, not only is there no convention sitting to thresh out a solution of India's problems, but talk about it is being repressed and whatever is to happen about it is all kept carefully behind the veil. Indians must put more insistence and more force into their agitation, if they wish to see this simple problem of Indian Home Rule, advancing, within a measureable distance of time, towards a final settlement.

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553. An order under the Defence of India Act.

(Dated 31st July, 1917, Page 2083, Para 5.)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 31st July, says:--As our readers know, yesterday, an order of Externment was served on Mr.V.R.Karandikar, sub-editor of New India. What a sophistry it is to call this work prejudicial to public safety? ~~Whaxxxaxxsophistryxitxisxto callxthisxwork pre~~ The Congress League Scheme is definitely for constitutional changes in the system of administration here and the carrying out of that scheme of reforms is certainly detrimental to the interests of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy in India has been long thinking that their interests are the interests of India; and in this scheme of reforms they see the beginning of responsible government and the ending of autocracy. That is the reason why every effort of constitutional

agitators has become unbearable to them and they hit hard and hit mindless of justice and fainness at any one they choose to look upon as dangerous. It is a sin or a crime in their eyes for an Indian to rouse his countrymen to the appreciation of the misreable condition in which they stand today. It is a sin or a crime to work earnestly and restlessly for the uplift of this country and its freedom political and economic in proceeding against Mr.Karandikar. In any case we must show to the Government that these things cannot cow us down. At every step of repression the national cause must gather more and more strength, until at length the whole people demand their rights in a voice that is irresistible and are prepared to make sacrifices for the nation's freedom."

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554. The duty of the patriotic.

(Dated 28th July, 1917, Page 2083, Para 6.)

New India, of the 28th July, writes:--Until the repressive measures of the various Governments are repealed, and Mrs.Annie Besant, Messrs. Wadia, Arundale, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali are released, no patriotic or self-respecting Indian should work with the Government on any committee, or Board, or Advisory Council, or in any way. They should sternly stand aloof. England will then see that only lower grade men will accept Government offers. For instance, on the Temperance Committee, Dr.T.M.Nayar, a non-temperance man, is the only Indian. That is all right. In an Indian Man-Power Committee we find three Rajas--Ramnad, Bobbili and Kollengode, why not the poor Raja of Kurupam? that is all right. We see with regret that one eminent Indian is on it, but we trust that he is not to be judged by

the company he keeps. Let it be remembered that a swadeshi meeting has been prohibited; that a meeting for the Hon'ble Mr.Patel's Education Bill has been prohibited; that religious liberty is being crushed--Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholson has been ordered not to attend a theosophical meeting; that Mrssrs.Wrenn, Bennet & Co., (Limited) in Ootacamund have had pressure put upon them to send away Mr.Harvey, and have done so. reaction is becoming more and more rapid, and repression is increasing. Lord Pentland has already sent Madras along the first stages of Bengal unrest, as Mrs.Besant warned him he was doing. What a splendid thing it would be if the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nayar and the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar indignantly flung away their offices, and refused to be branded in history as supporters of the repression of liberty. They ought both to be interned instead of in the Council Chamber of coercion. They ought to make their names immortal. Will they?

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555. The prohibited Calcutta meeting.

(Dated 28th June, 1917, Page 2083, Para 7.)

New India, of the 28th July, has the following:--

"Another blow at liberty of speech.

"The telegrams tell us that the proposed Town Hall meeting in Calcutta to protest against the internments has been prohibited by Government. The reason given was that the Government could not allow a Town Hall meeting for the sole purpose of cirticising the action taken under law by the authorities of another government. We always expect this sort of fellow-feeling between sister administrations and brother satraps, especially on the present occasion, when

the policy of repression has been taken up in concert by all the Governments. We are sure our Calcutta friends will hold a great meeting and express with all their noted emphasis and ability their abhorrence of the policy of Government. But, in the meanwhile, we make a note of the narrowness of vision and the littleness of heart manifested by the Bengal Government. The Bengal Government say that they have no objection to a meeting held to promote constitutional changes, so long as the speakers preserved sobriety of language. We know that meetings even for this purpose have been stopped in various parts of the country. And is not protest against xxxx high-handed repression and against the misuse of legislative enactments, a measure to promote constitutional changes? How can we think of any other changes till this policy which has silenced the leaders of the whole movement for constitutional changes is changed? Under the circumstances sobriety of language becomes impossible."

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556. A word to Government officials and pensioners.

(Dated 30th July, 1917, Page 2084, Para 8.)

New India, of the 30th July, observes:--The political situation in the country is becoming increasingly grave day after day. The policy of repression is in the ascendant. The Indian public and the leaders have, on the whole, discharged their duty in speaking out their minds on this critical occasion. When the non-official Indian attitude has been thus made clear to the Government, what ought to be the position of the Indian officials in this country? We are

aware that Indian officials, as such, cannot publicly express any opinion of their own on our national aspirations, but there is no doubt that the vast majority of them share the views and sentiments of their non-official brethren. Of course, the plainest way of indicating their attitude would be for Indian officials, in high positions to give up their connection with the Government, if they feel that the Government have embarked on an unjust policy of downright repression. To our friends, who have retired from Government service after a long and unsullied career, we have only to commend the example of a patriot like the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V.K. Ramanja Achariyar. The Government cannot, with any sense of fairness to its own quandom loyal officers --officers on whom it has sometimes conferred honours and titles for approved service, loyalty, ability, character and what not--charge them with disloyalty or call them all irresponsible people using unconstitutional or dangerous methods of agitation. It is, therefore, essential that retired officials of all grades should now throw in their lot with the Indian constitutional reformers, Home Rulers or self-Governmenters, for all parties now merge in one national whole. May we, therefore, appeal to them all to join the Home Rule Leagues in their respective places--we are glad that several have already joined and help their country in the great work to the best of their abilities. We know there is enough mettle in them, and are sure that they would rise to the occasion in this grave crisis."

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557. New India's call to passive resistance.

(Dated 9th August, 1917, Pagexx 2133, Para 11.)

The following appears in New India of the 9th August:--

"The Rakkhi-Band Bhai.

In the old heroic days, when Rajput and Muslim battled together to the death, like gentlemen; when the Rajput put on the saffron robe and died, fighting to the last; when the Rajputni flung herself on the flaming pure, that she might meet her husband stainless on the other side of death; in those days, when a woman was in sore need, it was the chivalrous custom that she should send to some hero a rakkhi, and on the receipt he became her Rakkhi band brother, her knight, as he was called in the west, her chivalrous defender, and rushed to her rescue.

Now it is no one woman, however dear, who calls for help. It is India, our mother to whom we have so often sung, our mother, at whose sacred feet we have bowed, crying Vande Mataram, our mother, whom we profess to love. It is she, groaning under repression, her mouth gagged, her lovers interned, her servants menaced, her Rulers, threatening her, England either decieved or indifferent. And so our mother calls, as Kurnavati called to Humayun, calls to Hindu and to Muslim to Parsi and to Christian, to Buddhist, Jain and Sikh: Come children of my womb, and sacrifice yourselves for my freedom, not in the old way of bodily combat, but in the even more heroic way of sacrifice; put forth your soul-force, as my son Madan Mohan bade you, as my son Gandhi will guide you; use your spiritual weapons of steadfastness of endurance, of passive resistance, and show the western world how as eastern nation can break her chains, freeing her oppressors

as well as herself, and delivering the empire from the strain of autocracy.

"So speaks our mother, and from her prison house she stretches out her hand, and in it is her old symbol of her Rakkhi, the chivalrous symbol of her older days, worn alike by Hindu and by Muslim, the pledge of perfect devotion and of sacrifice."

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558. <u>Respect for law.</u>

(Dated 9th August, 1917, Page 2133, Para 12.)

In a leader on this subject, New India, of the 9th August, observes:--Many of us think that Mrs.Annie Besant is some what fanatical in her respect for law; yet we have heard her say with regard to the defence of Act that she believes it to be illegal -- as being beyond the ~~to the~~ powers of a dependent legislature and knows it to be ~~imprisonment for a white man~~ ~~illegal as being beyond the powers of a dependent legislature and knows it to be~~ immoral, so that she only obeys it as a matter of expendiency and force majeure. Under the conditions which prevail in India, the respect for law felt by Mrs.Besant is impossible. Even in the ordinary criminal law, ~~felt by Mrs.Besant is~~ racial distinctions are made; a magistrate sentences an Indian to flogging for petty offences punished by brief imprisonment for a white man. Privileges of trial may be claimed by an Englishman which are not available for an Indian. But apart from these distinctions, the whole bulk of coercive legislation fails to fulfil the primary conditions of law in a civilised community, and has undermined that respect for law which is essential for the welfare of the State.

"Most of this legislation has been passed without the consent of even a fraction of the people. The Indian Press

"This legislation is vague, indeterminate, and uncertain, leaving the executive to create the offences it punishes; and since the determination of the offence depends upon the whim of the various Governors in Council, no man can know that he has offended against the Statute, until he is punished under it. In Madras city, processions are forbidden but pass unnoticed in the muffasal. In Madras Presidency people are interned, while much more violent speeches and attacks on Government are allowed in Bombay and the United Provinces than were made by them. In Madras Presidency meetings are prohibited, while in Bombay Presidency they are permitted. In Delhi a meeting is prohibited in the Punjab a similar meeting is allowed. But any reference to it is prohibited in the press; in Bengal a meeting to be called by the Sheriff of Calcutta on the requisition of leading citizens, to be presided over by one of the most eminent lawyers, is prohibited. Mr.Karandikar is banished from Madras Presidency, but can carry on redoubled activity in Bombay. In Madras a SWADESHI meeting is prohibited, in ~~discretion of the~~------ Bombay an educational. In this welter of contradictions, where is law? The discretion of the Executive replaces the fiat of law; the administration of law varies with local boundaries. All legal safeguards are swept away and liberty and property are at the mercy of the Executive. Mrs.Besant is deprived of liberty and ruined financially without charge made, evidence produced, or defence allowed; a campaign of calumny and vilification is carried on against her, and a Minister of the Crown uses the platform of the House of Commons to misrepresent her, in the face of the world, without any investigation, while she is gagged by the 'man on the spot'. How can we respect law when the example of disregard of law and justice is set by those who should be its upholders? . . . . . Will not the English people and the English Parliament interfere, and sweep away all this unconstitutional, discretionary, coercive legislation, and restore to the Indian nation the possibility of rebuilding respect for law?

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intention of attending political meetings in spite of the prohibition. This action has been followed up at Guntur Coimbatore and Rajahmundry; and the depth of feeling may be gauged from the fact that within the last three days nearly a thousand under-graduates of the various colleges in Madras have signified their willingness to convene a meeting of protest against the Government Order. So far, we have refrained from expressing any opinion on the action taken by the students in the mufassal, and contemplated in Madras, ~~have signified their willingness to~~ We have, however no hesitation in saying, though we may be running counter to a great body of public opinion, that the attitude of the students, which their action bespeaks, must have the heartiest sympathy. While this is our considered opinion, we feel justified in making an earnest appeal to the student population to desist from an action which may precipitate matters and complicate the general situation. In making this appeal to our young men we wish to point out that the general situation has altered radically since the Trichinopoly incident took place and the exercise of a little patience just now may enable all concerned to relieve the acute tension that exists now. It is far from our intention to deny them either the opportunity or the right to act for themselves, but we feel that especially at the present moment, public life would be impossible without mutual regard and co-operation between the older and younger generations. We hope the government will not be blind to the indomitable spirit that is coming over our young men. Repression has not succeeded with the elders, and it will fail even more miserably with the younger generations. We think it would be wisdom on the part of the Government to revoke the order at once. In the interests of justice and good feeling, superstitious notions of prestige must

be sacrificed."

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561. Mrs. Besant's release.

(Dated 14th September, 1917, Page 2323, Para 5.)

In a leader headed "When?" New India, of the 14th September, says:--A full week has passed away since Sir William Vincent replied to Mr. Jinnah's question to the effect that the Government of India would recommend to the Local Government that Mrs. Besant may be released; and yet no step has been taken to give effect to it. The public are in a state of dreadful suspense, and every one is asking what the cause of this delay may be. Has not the Government of India transmitted its recommendation? It is impossible to believe that they have not, specially after so explicit a statement in the Council. If they have, why is the delay? What is it that stands in the way? The attitude of the Government of India is perfectly clear. Not only did Sir William Vincent promise to recommend the release, but the Viceroy himself did not deal at length with the internment issue in view of that statement. What does that show? Is it not clear that in the opinion of the Viceroy the interned leaders were to be immediately set free? Are we to remain silent, we ask respectfully when a full week has definitely passed a way without the open statement made in the Supreme Council being given effect to? The country is not kept informed even as to the cause of delay and thereby the authorities are needlessly increasing excitement and restlessness everywhere. Probably this is the bureaucratic response to the highly conciliatory attitude adopted by Indian publicists in view of the Viceregal appeal. If that be so, they have decieived themselves into a serious error.

The feeling in the country is too strong and serious to be played with in that fashion; and this dilatoriness with regard to a definite order of the Government of India may create a situation which every fair minded person will regret."

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562. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech.

(Dated 17th September, 1917, Page 2380, Para 4.)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 17th September, says:--Evidently Indian Members of the Supreme Legislative Council did not relish Sir Michael's manuscript eloquence. Nevertheless a second thought will convince them that they ought to be grateful to him, firstly, for releiving the monotony of the ~~that they ought to be grateful~~ proceedings by his reckless frankness, and, secondly, by furnishing them an excellent proof of the demoralising effect of the Indian system of Government on British character. In our opinion, the chief merit of the speech is the perfection with which it mirrors forth in its nakedness the average type of the bureaucratic soul. Whatever may be said against, it, there is no doubt of the blunt frankness of bureaucratic purpose. When we say this, we have said all that could be said in its favour. Its spirit is mediaeval and thoroughly un-English and is an anachronism so extraordinary at a time when all the four corners of the world are ringing with the cry of freedom. Its mental outlook is that of the proverbial frog in the well and its logic smells of Mother Earth--It is rustic and primeval. As to the inappropriateness of the present juncture, when almost all the countries engaged in the war are busy revising their constitutions, the man who tells us that we should allow this great opportunity to slip by, cannot be honest- He must be asked to speed to his superannuation promptly and peremptorily."

563. Deaths of internees.

(Dated 2nd October, 1917, Page 2465, Para 5.)

New India, of the 2nd October, has the following:--

"Sada's Suicide,

"When will this slaughter of the innocents cease? Who can read the simple and, for that very reason, most pathetic letter of poor Sada without tears in his eyes? Those that tarnish the fair name of free Britain by such Russian (of a day that is past) methods--are they loyal or are we, who, being driven by our belief in the responsibility of a community for the Karma of the individual, agitate for saving the British nation from the dire effects of such slaughter--unintentional, undoubtedly--and risk the displeasure of the bureaucrats and its usual consequences of suspicion and persecution? Can any man in his senses pretend that, in the moral government of God, none, as a matter of course, will be called to account for this loss of a budding life of great promise?... Does not that letter cry aloud to the four corners of the world that such merciless treatment of any spirited boy of highly-strung nerves must necessarily make him either a suicide or an anarchist? Does not this instance throw a lurid light on the manufacture of Bengali anarchists? If it is so harmful to the victim of the espionage, what a moral pest it must be to those that have to do the spying? Speaking purely from the standpoint of human nature, does not such espionage kill all humanity in them and create in the pursuer the hunter's callousness to the sufferings of the animal marked down by him for his shot?"

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564. The European Association, Madras Branch.

(Dated 25th October, 1917, Page 2576, Para 7.)

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In a leader under the heading "The Talking Images of Madras, New India, of the 25th October, states:--
We have persued with care the lengthy report of an apparently tedious meeting of the local European Association in yesterday's issue of the Madras Mail. It is said that it was an influentially attended meeting, though the names of those present are withheld, presumably not on account of lack of space on the part of the Madras Mail. We do not know who were these influential people, and if we were to judge from the standard of influence possessed by the speakers well-the less we say the better. All were shopkeepers and tradespeople, with the exception of the redoubtable Mr.Welby, editor of the Madras Mail. Where were the representatives of the professions? Are there no European lawyers and barristers and doctors and engineers and architects and bankers and brokers? And why were the poor Missionaries left out? Rightly speaking it was a gatherings of European traders. The only name of any importance is that of Mr.Gordon Fraser, and that is only because he happens to be a member of the local Legislative Council. Naturally, when such ignorant people were the oracles of the evening, and when others had gathered to hear them, what can we expect of the throwing of such pearls before such--let us say an audience.

Thus in these no serious argument is advanced, no considered thought is to be found; reasonableness is absent, sympathy with Indian aspirations is non-existent. Tall talk and petty abuse is all that we encounter, and falsehoods abound. Selfishness and greed are the motive forces of this agitation, and we have written at length to prove

the hollowness of the pretensions of the European traders who use the name of the entire European community in an un-British agitation against a cause which is founded on truth and righteousness--the cause of justice and liberty."

565- Mrs.Besant's methods.

(Dated 31st October, 1917, Page 2612, Para 6.)

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In replying to the criticisms of Lord Islington and the Anglo-Indian Press on Mrs.Besant's methods of agitation, New India, of the 31st October, remarks:--We do not wish to discuss a topic on which the Government wisely wants to see the curtain drop, and we are eager to co-operate towards that end, but in fairness to Mrs.Besant it must be pointed out that her violent or wrong methods have never been proven, and the very fact that she is released unconditionaly clearly shows the truth underlying that story. Mrs.Besant's methods are the same today as they have been in the past, if she is not attacking the Government directly, it is because the Government have come to her point of view and are anxious to discuss calmly the problem of Home Rule for India. The Government of India, thanks to the aid given by Mr.Montagu, has seen the path along which they should proceed and have abandoned their former policy of no politics and crushing Home Rule, and hence all nationalists, including Mrs.Besant, are eager to co-operate with the Government."

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566. <u>New India and the bureaucracy.</u>

(Dated 14th November, 1917, Page 2684, Para 6.)

New India, of the 14th November, states:--We have often made clear in these columns that our campaign of calumny, as it is wrongly called, is not levelled against any official, high or low, European or Indian. We have always attacked the wrong system, the faulty methods, the objectionable ways. Sometimes we could not but, as matter of example, name person or persons who were the offending parties, but ~~as matter of example~~ even the we have attacked the misdeed or the misconduct and not individuals. One of the points to be made quite clear to Mr. Montagu and his friends is that under the existing circumstances it is absolutely necessary to criticise the misdemeanours of bureaucrats, though the criticism is far less scathing than that common in England. Our contention will be readily understood if we add to our remarks the fact that this pernicious system, which has created and maintains a bureaucracy, turns gentle and amiable Indians into human beings who are not lovable. For, take into account the unpopularity of the Indian bureaucrats; they are not fully trusted or looked up to with esteem and regard from the hour they enter the magic circle of officialdom. The Indian press is not free from attacks on the Indian bureaucrat, and handles him in almost the same manner as it handles the white bureaucrat. From personal experience we know that something happens to the poor mortal once he passes through the peculiar initiation belonging to the fraternity of the bureaucrats. His point of view is changed, his outlook becomes narrow, his humanity undergoes a transformation, he is more a machine than a man. We can only trace the metamorphosis to the system of which he becomes a mighty sun or a humble planet. In the constitutional changes so

much discussed at present will the personal relation of the official with Indian society be taken into account? The Congress League Scheme, by giving a proper place to the official, both European and Indian, has solved the difficulty, for, we feel certain, that if the reforms therein advocated are granted, the relation between the members of the ruling caste and those of the ruled will become more friendly and harmonious, to the mutual advantage of all.

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567. The London Branch of the Home Rule League.

(Dated 28th November, 1917, Page 2748, Para 9.)

In an article under the heading Anglo-Indianism in the mother country, commenting on the replies to questions in the House of Commons on the police raid on the London office of the Home Rule for India League, New India, of the 28th November, says:--Can madness go further? Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab--the great Arya Samajist--the philanthropist who has given his all money, trouble and time for the service of his Motherland and of the poor and down trodden--independent, courageous--an incarnation of honesty and piety--one of the most respected of Indian leaders who refused to make common cause with the breakers of the Surat Congress-who has ever stood for politics straightforwardly and who declared on oath in the witness-box at Calcutta that no educated man out of the lunatic asylum would ever think of disloyalty to the British Crown who, times without number, has declared that such disloyalty is distinguishable from disloyality to India--a man who is ever known to regard material wealth which is not required

as a means to serve his fellow-men as tinsel and trash such a religious and political saint to be accused of receiving German money! German money--for what? To betray his own country; for, according to his well-known views to betray England is to betray India!! What has British statesmanship come to, if a responsible officer charged with supreme authority over a fifth of the human race could really allow himself to be persuaded by foreign spies that such a man could be guilty of such an offence. Knwoing, as we do the great Lala's moral worth, we do not hesitate to declare at once that it will be impossible for any one to implicate him in any such plot as this even if it be proved to exist, as impossible as it has been for the Northcliffe Press to make out Lord Haldane as a traitor in German pay. Can it be that Lala, on touching the floor of the great western temple of Mammon, became so enamoured of that bewitching deity, as to conceive such a devotion to it as to disown his whole past life and be treacherous to England which, according to his own political creed up till then professed was treachery to his own beloved motherland. We cannot and ought not to pursue this hopeless riddle further lest we should catch the contagion of the madness of those who formulated the charge. Surely this blinding mistiness is enough to cause any sane person to suspect that the information is exactly of the kind said to have been furnished to the Madras Government by a responsible officer that Mrs.Besant was a subsidised agent of Germany. The disordered brain of a cocksure bureaucrat trusted his police spy more than his common sense, forgetting that the yarn spun by the former would exactly measure the length required by his idea of the strength of the latter's own suspicions. With this knowledge, can we easily divine for ourselves how some one in America who was feeling that he had drawn on the secret funds of the India and Home offices too long wanted to justify his existence by informing the suspicious magnate at the Downing Street, that there was cause to suspect.

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568. <u>The hunger strike of political prisoners.</u>

(Dated 7th December, 1917, Page 2793, Para 1.)

New India, of the 7th December, observes:-- From accounts published in the Calcutta papers received yesterday it appears that the hunger strike resorted to by the detenus in the Alipore Central Gaol is not, as the Associated Press message would lead one to believe, merely a protest against their detention under Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the strikers themselves asserting that they have no ground for complaint, regarding their treatment by prison authorities or in respect of food and clothing with which they have been provided. A letter containing some details of this sensational incident has fallen into the hands of the Amrita Bazar Patrika and is signed by twenty strikers, eighteen of whom are State prisoners under Regulation III of 1818 and two detenus under the Defence Act (Foreigners Ordinance). They make serious changes against the authorities and call for an immediate and thorough enquiry by an independent commission. If the allegations are false, a Press Communique should at once be published denying the allegations ~~are false, a Press Communique~~ and giving a faithful account of the treatment that is given to these unfortunate persons. If, on the other hand, all or even some of the allegations are true, this inhuman and shameful practice, which no civilised Government can resort to, should at once be put an end to and the officers responsible for the same should be relieved of their duties without the least compunction."

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NEW INDIA,

9th January, 1917.

WHY WE WANT HOME RULE.

The more closely we observe the trend of feeling in England and elsewhere the more we are convinced of the very urgent necessity of demanding and getting Home Rule. We find that whereever the question of reconstruction of the Empire is raised the only parts of the Empire that are mentioned are the self governing Dominions. At a meeting held in London, Lord Selborne talked about Imperial Unity and asked. If it was not possible to form a constitution for the Empire as a whole, by which the Self governing nations within it would be able to regulate in common their foreign policy and their defence while the self governing nations of the Empire had recognised the call of liberty as one man, it was quite true that, being in the struggle, many were asking why they had not a word to say in the foreign policy which ended in the war.

Further Mr.Massey, Prime Minister of New zealand, spea king at the same meeting, laid stress on the need for a closer union of the Empire. But he went further and said: "The time was not far distant when the population of the Dominions would be at least equal to that of the united Kingdom, and it would be a splendid think if the present opportunity were taken to take the young self governing Nations of the Empire into partnership and give them a voice in Imperial affairs.

This is exactly why we are demanding Home Rule. The English people talk of Dominions. They talk of reconstruction of the Empire. But they forset India. Their idea is a closer union of self governing colonies and Dominians, but what they are going to do about India? They will not consider India's position unless and until India is self governing. And we must have Self government immediately after the war before the real reconstruction of the Empire is brought,

in order that when it takes place India should not suffer on account of her subordinate position. We have already began to do some work, but under the present circumstances the progress is too slow to serve India's end. We must toil more and secure for India real Home Rule before the Imperial reconstruction takes place. That is the only way to carryout the mandate of the congress.

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N E W I N D I A, 2089

11th January, 1917.

H O M E R U L E.

Lecture at Trichinopoly: A correspondent writes:--

Under the auspices of the ~~Sankara~~ Sevanka ~~Samp~~ Samaj, Mr.R. Ramaswami-Vakil, delivered a ve y interesting lecture on Home Rule-- He said that he believed that Self government within the British Empire or Home Rule for India, was not only a legitimate aspiration of the people of Indian but the natural and inevitable evolution of India's National destiny, and in the words of Mr.Tilak. It is our birth right and we want it, and as such it would be detirmental both to the interests of India and England to prevent or impede its advance in any way. He then defined Home Rule as the government for the people by the people and as embodied in the primary article of the constitution of the National congress. He then referred to the two important Home Rule Leagues at Madras and at Bombay and the unique thing they have achieved till now by way of inflicting the study of the different aspects of Home Rule. He said that the Indian mind in the past was applied to severe abstruse questions of philosophy and religion, and the great and glorious achievements of intellectual giant in those regions have won the admiration of the West and East. So it is not improbable that, if they were given opportunity to study the political questions, the keen and penetrating intellect of the Indian will assuredly add fresh laurels to the glory of India by making many interesting and very valuable contributions of its own to the world's common stock of political thought and achievement.

He then referred to Mr.Curtis Private letter and criticised it in strong terms saying that he, like his ilk, was not true to his salt, and the sooner be gave up this thankless, task, the better for him. This book "The problem of the common wealth was severely dissected and the

the colossel ignorance of the author was exposed. Passages from works on Indian policy were quoted in contradiction to those of the author.

The speaker concluded by saying that for the social, religious, industrial, political and economic development of India, Home Rule and Home Rule only was the remedy. He said that Indian should keep on agitating for Home Rule for a pretty long time as he thought that India would not be fortunate enough to get it immediately after the war. It was a sacred task entrusted to every Indian, and everybody should show resolute determination, self sacrifice and tanacity of purpose. It will be a very remarkable and glorious day indeed if, as Mr. Tilak hopes, the Indian National congress of 1918 meets under the flag of Home Rule.

NEW INDIA,

18th January 1917.

HOME RULE IS COMING.

Mr.G.S.Arundale writes:--Speaking Yesterday in connection with a lecture delivered by Mr.Harisarvothana Rao on "Impressions of the congress; I made a suggestion which might, perhaps, be usefully given a somewhat wider publicity. It is not always possible to be active in Home Rule propaganda. There are many people especially young people, who cannot take any active part in that particular kind of political work which we call Home Rule propaganda. Government servants, for example, however much they may be ardent Home Rulers, are compelled to canceal the fact. The suggestion I made can, I think, be followed by everyone Remembering that the power of thought is as great as the power of action, I suggested that at noon each day those who believe in Home Rule should repeat to themselves some such phrase as "Home Rule is coming to India" If they say it out loud, they soon should, of course, use the Mother Tongue. The words actually used do not much matter, provided the phrase indicates belief, amounting to certainty, in the near coming of Home Rule. We must not have any such milk and water phrases as "I hope that Home Rule may soon come to India." Home Rule is coming, and soon, I venture to think if large numbers of people throughout the country think in some such terms as I have indicated, and if they also think approximately at the same time, we shall create an amount of thought force which will be a very valuable asset in bringing about the desired result. I commend the idea to all who are at heart Home Rulers, no matter what their position in life many be, or whether they are members of the Home Rule League or not.

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C O N G R E S S.

N E W I N D I A,
1st February, 1917.

THE CONGRESS OF 1916 AND ITS IMPORTANCE:--

(By a delegate)

It may be safely assented that (the congress has entered a new sphere of its existence which marks its entry into the period of manhood. From being a body shining with the patronage of officials at the beginning and later on looked down upon by them, it has survived official frown and disfavour and the united Session of the congress marks an epach-making event in the history of the congress for more than one reason. The action of the powers that be in year not giving effect to several resolutions passed year after year has tired the patience even of the moderates of the moderates.) There is a growing feeling of resentment among the people of the land who have not lagged behind the Self-governing Colonials in loyally assisting the Imperial Government when they are told that their position will take ages to alter and improve. (The earnestness and enthusiasm of the delegates and visitors at the time when the resolution of the Congress on self government was adopted on the 29th of December last can only be understood by those who actually attended the session. Important personages, representative of all Sections and castes spoke on the resolution.) The well reasoned and oratorical utterance of Mr.Babu Surendranath Bannerji, the muscial voice of Mrs.Sarojini Naidu, the feeling and eloquent tone of Mr.B.C. Pal, the Cogent reasoning of Mr.B.G.Tilak, the touching uttrances of Mrs.Besant were heard in connection with that resolution. (Thirty years of agitation have given a training to the people of this land in the securing of their just rights and the loyal support given to the Empire to secure equal rights and privileges with the self Governing Dominions.

entitles them to secure equal rights and ~~privilages~~ privilages with the self governing Dominions. It is earnestly hoped that the change that has come over the public life of the people of this land may be rightly understood and the growing demand of the people satisfied.)

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<u>PRESS AND ARMS ACTS.</u>

N E W I N D I A,

7th February, 1918.

<u>PUBLIC OPINION (PRESS)</u>

At the Legislative Council Yesterday, the following question was put and "answered", the questioner was the Hon.Mr. A.S.Krishna Rao.,

(a) Will the Government -----------(b) Subsidised or 2) Purchased by the Government and; if so what cost (b) will the Government--------------(1) subsidised or (2) Purchased by the government, next year, and if so, at what cost?

Ans. The Government are not prepared to furnish the information.

The asnwer shows that some papers are subsidised or bought, since it is obvious that, if it were not so, a prompt denial would have been given. A ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ turid light is thrown on the manufacture of "public opinion" by organs that sell themselves while pretending to be independent. When the Bengal Government subsidised the "Indian Minor" it did so openly, and the paper lost its position. Here, apparently, we are having foisted upon us as public opinion, opinions paid for by government, the very fount of information being poisoned and public life currupted. We know how to value the letters and in the Anglo Indian Press, signed "An Indian", "Justice", and the like, attacking persons and opinions. But how are we to guard ourselves against the more insidious workings of subsidised papers? Our readers may remember the posting of Anti Home leaflets with Government stamps some months ago. To help Mr.A.S.Krishna Rao in his landable enquiry, we may add

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To belt Mr.A.S.Krishna Rao in his landable enquiry, we may add that we have not as yet been xxxxx offered any subsidy xxx by the Government. Other honest papers, please copy.

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S E L F G O V E R N M E N T:
H O M E R U L E.

New India,

9th February, 1917.

HOME RULE ORGANISATION. (Editorial:)

"Unite and Organise"

As time goes on the value of the Home Rule Leagues becomes increasingly evident Apart from the fact that the Indian Home Rule League, for example, has over 110 Branches with considerably more than 5000 active members, it is specially gratifying to note, day after day, that there are groups of patriots scattered through out the country intensely watchful of their country's interests. Our readers will have noticed how one Home Rule Branch after another, generally. We are ~~GLADxTOxSAY?xINxCOOPERATIONxWITHxOLDERxBODIESxSUCHxASxTHE~~ glad to say, in cooperation with older bodies such as the local congress committee or people's Association, has taken up each matter of importance as it has arisen, and has expressed in emphatic language the views of those whom it represents-- India's representation on the Imperial war conference, the Indenture system, and the Public Service Commission report, have in turn, been scethingly commented on by almost every political body throughout the country. In this connection Home Rulers are rejoiced to welcome the emphatic proclamation in favour of Home Rule by the great meeting in Lahore, to which we have already had occasion to refer.

The year 1917 has opened with the most encouraging signs of an increasingly effective organisation of public opinion. For this we have to thank that inspiring week at Lucknow, during which the two great communities joined in a recognition of the common goal and resolved upon mutual cooperation towards its achievement. The spirit of the Muslim League and of the National congress broods over all other political organisations, uniting them for the common purpose of winning self government for India. As the months pass, India's

demand for Home Rule will become more emphatic, more insistent, and will be backed by an ever-increasing strength of public opinion. During the few weeks of the present year public opinions has already expressed itself, as we have said, as to the definety reactionary nature of the three out standing official pronouncements. We may expect in the near future more signs of bureaucratic resistance to India's legitimate x aspiration. But, in almost every village, and in every city of this land, there are those on the watch. We must so work, from now on land, that not a village or a town shall lack a National vigilance committee to organise local public opinion, so that it may pass judgement for or against every government activity. India is awake. She must now act, not only for the sake of her freedom, but in loyalty to the Emperor and in the trust service of the great British Empire.

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NEW INDIA,

12th February, 1917.

GENERAL.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION REPORT-- A protest meeting.

Under the joint auspices of the three leading political bodies of this city- the provincial congress committee, the Mahagana Sabha and the Home Rule league,-- a public meeting was held last saturday to protest against the unjust recommendations of the Public Services commission. It was an influential meeting, in which several nonofficial members of our legislative council took part. It was a long meeting, and the speakers are reported to have been in excellent form; the facts and figures of the Hon.Mr. Ramachandra Rao were as effective as the denunciation and sarcasm of the Hon.Mr.V.K.Ramanujachari. The latter said that the interpretation of the Queen's proclamation of 1858 given by Lord Curzon was confirmed, which means that we may now talk of it as a scrap of paper! If it is not so, then the Hon.Mr.Ramanuja-chari's suggestion should be immediately adopted and a 'bonfire' made of all available copies of the Report. Mr.K.N.Ayya Iyer said the root of the new non-Brahana movement was in the report. The Hon.Mr.Yakub Hasan does not seen to relish that Indians,"even the few,"should be"contaminated by the atmosphere of the I.C.S", but wanted a National Government. Mr.G.A. Natesan said that "The India of Today was not the India of 1914" and it was a crual mockery that when India asked for the Bread of self government she was offered the dirty stones of their recommendations. Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar justly condemned the wrong" perpetrated by a parcel of man who, without a sense of responsibility, had striven their best, to check the aspirations of the people of this country".We sincerely trust that all over the country meetings will be held and protests made, emphatic and clear, telling Lord Chelmsford that India will not tolerate the cruelty, the injustice,

made, emphatic and clear, telling Lord Chelmsford that India will not tolerate the cruelty, the injustice, and the tyranny of seeing his government adopt these shameful recommendations.

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INDENTURED LABOUR (INDIANS IN COLONIES)

N E W I N D I A,

22nd February, 1917,

ANTI INDENTURE MEETING AND NON BRAHMANA LEADERS

A non-Brahmana writes:--

It is with deep feelings of disappointment that I observed in Yesterdays Anti Indenture meeting at the Gokhale Hall that the Non-Brahmana leaders (especially those who issued the recent Non Brahmana Manifesto) were conspicious by their absence. Cent percent of men and women who emigrate to Fiji and other colonies as Indentured coolies are non Brahmanas. It is a question in which the moral prestige and self dignity of these poor non-Brahmana coolies are concerned. I quite fail to understand why these leaders who say that their manifesto was issued for the uplift of their brethren were absent. The meeting was in no way concerned with the Home Rule propaganda. Whose deadly enemies they declare themselves to be, but to whose advent India as a whole looks forward, and under whose auspices the poverty--stricken coolies would be better taken care of in the very soil of their birth. When India ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ assures the control of her own destinies, the colonials, who depend upon India for cheep labour, will be compelled to pay better respect to her voice. In the light of these things why did not these leaders attend and take part in the deliberations of yesterday, for the immediate removal of injustice done to our poor brethren, and the handships and difficulties and shame they are subjected to? It is really wrong to have kept themselves aloof, while the Brahmana leaders (who formed the major portion of the speakers in Yesterday's meeting) are fighting for the rights of the poor non-Brahmana coolies beyond the Seas. Personal and communal feelings ought not to be allowed, to take possession of our minds at this juncture. ~~Simply because~~

Simply because they who form a microscopic minority do not agree with the Home Rule Movement, I fail to see why they should serve their connection with everything that these Brahmana leaders take part in Surely different is the case with the Western politicians. They may be apposed to each other in the field of politics, but are quite friendly on questions of National rights and progress. This is a serious drawback among many of the Indian politicians, and I hope and pray that they will take lessons from their western friends.

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THE RACIAL BAR IN RAILWAYS.

NEW INDIA,

28th February, 1917.

A correspondent has kindly placed before us an authoritative document which shows the type of generosity for which the S.I.Ry authorities deserve prominent notice- They have created a fund to which all the fines go, and the annual income thereof varies between five and thirteen thousand. The fines are levied on all classes of officers, the bulk of whom are Indians. How are the proceeds spent? Here are the figures for 1914-15.

	for Europeans	For Indians
schools	Rs.1385.	nil.
Scholarships	Rs.2079	nil
Institutes	Rs.360.	nil

And that was so for the previous four years as well, for which above figures are now available to us. Thus the fines levied mostly from Indians are utilised for the benefit of Europeans. It is true, the S.I.Rly authorities have the sole right of distributing the proceeds. None can question them, if they decide to add the proceeds to their other revenues. But if they desire to advertise the fact that they are generous with the 'Fine fund', they must expect to be criticised when it is so unjustly dispensed. The other charges of the fund in 1914-15 were grants to Christmas Trees, Coonoor Sanatorium, Compassionate Allowance, and Volunteer Band. One can easily guess who benefit from these grants as well.

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THREE REASONS FOR HOME RULE.

(By Annie Besant)

NEW INDIA,

1st March, 1918.

It is sometimes to useful to put shortly and sincerely why we demand Home Rule for India..........There are three outstanding reasons why we should demand Home Rule after the War, when, in the reconstruction of the Empire, India should cease to ~~be/xxx~~ be a'Dependency', and should take per place as a Free Nation in the Federal Empire.

We are on the down gradien in matters of liberty; we are less free than we were before India passed under the immediate rule of the British Crown, and we are finding that the liberty left to us is gradually diminishing. In 1858, we were comparitively free. Three were the Regulations of 1818, 1819 xd and 1827, the State prisoners act of 1850, and state Defence Act of 1857 and in 1858, another State Prisoner's Act. The Acts of 1850 and 1858 were appendices to the regulations which reconstitutes the 'letters de cachet' system of Bourbon France. The Act of 1857 gave power to the Executive government to proclaim a district which was or had been in a state of rebellion.

The regulations were seldom used, but during the last few years, they have been revived, and they are a constant menace to the personal liberty of all who are working for political reform and for the establishment in India of those guarantees for personal liberty which are the birth right of every Englishman, which have been promised to the Indian subjects of the crown, but never granted.........The foreigners in India, English, French, German (till the war) American, Negro, might bear arms, but not the Indian. The congress has incessantly demanded the repeal or modification of the Indian Arms Act 1878. For the first time, since the dawn of history, this elementary right was taken away from the Indian;---------The Press and Registration of Books act of 1867 needs amendment, not repeal with 1907 begins the era of

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxdeliberat and increasing repression, culminating in the unjust use of the Defence of India act, 1915, an act in itself justifiable, when need for its legitimate and avowed purposes, but which has been wrested from these and turned into an instrument of unjustifiable repression. In 1907 was passed the prevention of Seditious meetings act----- 1908 gave us the Explusive Substances Act, the Newspapers (incitement to offences) Act, the Indian criminal Law amendment act; the latter provides for taking evidence in secret and for suppressing associations deemed unlawful.

These lead up to the Press Act of 1910, which has destroyed the liberty of the Indian Press. It is not used against xxxxxx Anglo Indian Papers, which are allowed the most unbriddled licence, but is used with cruel severity against the Indian Press, and has destroyed hundreds of journals. We are thus going downhill, losing the liberties we used to enjoy. We need Home Rule to put an end to this reactionary policy.

Secondly we want Home Rule because the petitions for the removal of abuses, for elementary education, for real power for the representatives of the people, for control of the finances for simultaneous examinations, for seperation of executive and judicial functions, for commissions in the army, for protection of industries, and many other reforms, have been ignored.

Thirdly, and to my mind this is the most important reason, why we want Home Rule because liberty is man's birth right, and because the rule of another Nation is inconsistent with National respect, National dignity and unfettered National development. It is a badge of racial inferiority, and every man worthy of the name of man writes under the Yoke of foreign rule. How can man endure to live in the 'atmosphere of inferiority" that Gokhale bitterly complained of? India was bound in her sleep, but India is awake today. Why should she give any reason for her determination to rule herself? It is

enough that she wills it. If she chooses to be self-governed, who has the right to say her, nay? Only as long as she consents to her own bondage, can that bondage be maintained. A Nation does not petition for Freedom. She proclaims it.

New India,

5th March, 1917.

AGAINST INDENTURE.

The meeting held last evening in the Gokhale Hall, with Mr.Polak in the Chair, was the fourth protest of Madras against the system of Indentured Labour. Mr. Polak's speech was very effective, showing how small a number of people were really touched by it, and saying quite bluntly that if the colonies wanted Indian labour they must attract it by decent treatment and good wages, for it was no duty of India to supply labour to the colonies. Mr.T.V.Venkataraman Iyer made a good point in reading the testimony of a colony to the thrift, industry and good conduct of its Indian population Dewan Bahadur C.Karunakara Menon spoke very briefly but with deep feeling. Dewan Bahadur L.A.Govindaraghava was moved to a fiery eloquence which delighted the audience, and Mr.R.N.Ainger spoke effectively. The second resolution, electing two ladies to join the Bombay deputation, was placed in the hands of three ladies; Dr.Muthulakshmi Ammal, Mrs.SadaSivier and Mrs.Annie Besant. Dr.S.Guru Swamy chetti moved and Mr.A.P. Smith, Editor of Anglo-India, seconded the third resolution, and the meeting, which bent with a Swing throughout, closed with the usual vote of thanks moved by Dewan Bahadur Govindoss Chatterbhujadoss-- The two ladies chosen to represent Madras are with their husbands in Delhi, being the wives of the Hon.Messrs V.S.Srinivasa-Sastri and K.V. Rangaswami Iyyengar; two of the boldest and most outspoken members of the Supreme Legislative Council. We xxxx feel that they will add a real strength to the already strong deputation. It would be very good if Bengal, Bihar and the United Province also joined it.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIANS AND ANGLO INDIANS.

NEW INDIA,
19th March, 1917.

It is amusing to see the 'Englishman' preaching about the improvement of the relations between Indians and Anglo Indians, for no paper has done more to embitter those relations than the "English man. Its unlimited abuse of Lord Hardinge, its vehement opposition to all the aspirations of Indians are too well known to need repetition. As usual, it attakcs on false issues and avoid the real ones. It writes:--

"When India is ready for Home Rule, we agree with Sir Anchy Birkmyre that no power on earth can stop it, but she is not ready for it yet and she may not be ready for a long time to come. Of one thing we are quite sure, that all the agitation, the wicked aspirations on British Rule, and wild claims to manhood suffrage and all the rest of the paraphernalia of Western Democracy--emanating nowadays chiefly from European journalists in Bombay and Madras--is no preparation for Home Rule"

India's readiness for Home Rule is a matter of opinion Mr.Dadabhai Naoroji said that it was long over due. Mr.Horniman and Mrs.Annie Besant are, of course, the journalists aimed at; we cannot answer for Mr.Horniman, but we can for Mrs.Besant, and she has certainly never clamid manhood suffrage. She has advocated household suffrage for the election of the members of village Panchayats and Municipal Ward Panchayats, but only for those, either household or Universal suffrage not manhood--would either of them be desirable for the election of Panchayat dars. The general tenour of the article is that English Shorts are India's true friends, not Indian codlins: "No one can gaze at the busy shipping on the river and in the dacks without under standing how vital to India's prosperity and comfort is the

vast overseas commerce that the European houses of Calcutta have built up. What is true of Calcutta is true of every considerable town in India, of the mills of Bombay and caunpore, of the tea gardens of Assam, and the iron and steel and coal mining enterprises of Bengal. Wherever you turn in India you see some great industrial monument to the British genuins for enterprise and development, and the further you prove into the economics of the country the greater and more vital to the interests of India herself becomes the connection with great Britain.

No one denies that British traders are very successful exploiters in foreign countries, though perhaps the Tatas and Dharam says, etc, need not be quite forgotten. But the Indian complaint is that English trade enriches Englishman out of all proportion to its benefits to Indians. We do not challenge "The connection with great Britain". We believe that it is within the Divine Plan for the evolution of humanity. But in order that it may be maintained, its conditions must be changed.

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THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

NEW INDIA,
27th March, 1917.

Gradually the skies are clearing. The treatment our representatives in the Imperial War conference have received is one about which we can be glad. They are not assessors", but are actual members along with the Dominion members India has one vote, every Dominion has one vote. India's part in the War, her timely Services, at a time when unprepared England was making Supreme efforts to overtake the enemy and counter his efforts, are beginning to be realised. Her "later" efforts probably include the 'gift(of£100 millions. If this India gets her proper place in the Governance of the Empire, the sacrifices would not be in vain. Now the constitution of our representation in the war conference will depend upon the internal constitution of India, and hence we must make greater strides towards political self government. Fortunately the Premier, Mr.Lloyd George, has shown us the way to work. The vigour and enthusiasm which he has displayed in carrying our his ideals will be our motto in carrying out 'our' ideas of Self-development. Reuter has been authorised to inform us that the'development of India' has been partly the cause. Over and above her loyalty, which has been ~~poorer~~ proven true in this fire of world war, India's development means nothing else than the conscious realisation by the Indians of India's position and power, expressed in the stiffening of her political principles. The unity of all Indian parties for the sake of the Motherland, the joint demand of the congress League Reforms, the Memorandum of the famous Nineteen, are but the outward manifestations of India's development. So far, so good. Bufour goal is not yet achieved. Greater Unity and greater sacrifices will have to be made, and India's sonswill make them for her sake. We are sure that we shall soon be able to reconcile all sectarian movements

that are visible in our life to day, and we reconciled the Hindus and Muslims last year. Then there will be greater things in store for India and we shall be able to feel the joy of liberty within the compass of a world-wide Empire, living in mutual trust and cooperation. The ideals, with which the war was started, will have been realised when India has Home Rule, but not till then.

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NEWSPAPER SUBSIDIES.

New India,
3rd April, 1917.

Our remarks (Yesterday) on Newspaper subsidies were based on the replies to interpellations and our readers will have found that the government were more considerate in their replies to supplimentary questions. The Council was asked to"rest assured that there was no mystery in the matter" . The government further consented to permit Hon-Members to see the papers in connection with the official expenditure on periodicals. While we welcome that much of change in the government attitude, we feel it our duty to point out that the popular impression of the dealings will not be satisfactory unless further details are published. At the least, the public ought to know the maximum amount which any newspaper receives from the Provincial revenues. It is obviously immaterial what form government support takes; the real point at issue is the extent of such support, so that the public may know whether it amounts to a figure which may materially influence the policy of any journal. We are glad, that the Government deny the existence of any mystery, but why create it by mysteriously vague replies? In view of the considerable amount of interest attached to the topic, is it no desirable to publish a statement giving the main features of the government expenditure. The public will, we have no doubt, be satisfied with the names of the few journals that get the largest support xxxx and the amoung of such expenditure. Such a statement, will xx involve no great cost or energy, and it will do a great deal to remove misunderstanding, that is now known to exist in the Province. Without such misunderstanding, so many members of the council would not have felt constrained to press for particulars.

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ANTI BRAHMAN ORGANISATIONS.

N E W I N D I A,
18th April, 1917.

NON BRAHMANA AND ANTI BRAHMANA.

It is quite true that "New India" might have answered earlier the attack on the Hon. Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, but the Editor was very busy with the Theosophical Conference, and other matters, and did not read 'Justice' till April 12th, When she read faithfully through four members at a sitting. In the reply, she said nothing about any sacrifices of her own, and to answer what she did not say is no effective answer to what she said. She does not consider she has made sacrifices, for though she had a pretty big political following in England, it was pure joy to be allowed to serve India, and she has always considered it a privilege to be welcomed by Indians as a coworker. But these are petty personal matters of no consequence, although 'Justice' seems to prefer the guerilla method of Warfare to fair argument, as an untrained army, unable to meet its foes, in the field, harassess them on the outskirts and the rear. Mrs. Besant's merits or demerits do not affect the absolute necessity of Home Rule, if industries are to flourish. Rao Bahadur P. Thyagarajan Chetty's industrial hopes and his fiscal autonomy will be mere dreams without self government, as is very clear from the action taken on the cotton duties. There are these and other serious matters to be dealt with in Public life just now, and it is futile to waste time in childish personalities which appeal only to the vulgarminded. So far as we are concerned, 'Justice' is interesting, because it is dangerous at the moments as a disintergrating factor in the life of Madras, stirring up discord in the social life of the city, threatening the prosperity of a college that bade fair, by the good and harmonious work of Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas, to become the National College of the South, and driving apart classes that were drawing together.

The non-Brahmana movement is good, in so far as it raises the wealthy mercantile and landholding classes to a higher grade of education and culture, and prevents them from oppressing the out caste population, as they have hitherto done. The anti-Brahmana movement, preaching the Crusade of Hate, is mischievous and deplorable, and is essentially foreign in spirit, not Indian. There is no continuing life in a movement inspired by hatred, with the war cry. "Gott strafe Brahmanas," and there is little doubt that the healthy non-brahmana movement will, belong, seperate itself from the virulent anti-Brahmana Crusade, and that save non-Brahmanas will unite with liberal Brahmanas in the service of their common country.

New India,

8th May, 1917.

PREACHING HOME RULE.

A Correspondent writes:--

"Home Rule" has been accepted as the goal of our aspirations to be attained with in a measurable distance of time by all parties who are not playing into the hands of the enemies of Indian progress. Now the masses should be familiarised and made to sympathise actively with all movements which are intended to advance the interests of the country. There is no use in reiterating in English ideas to an audience which is already as familiar with them as it ever can be. If Home Rule is to be a people's movement, the Provincial Conference should resolve to send out a body of competent and trust worthy lecturers, armed with its authority and influence to preach Home Rule in the various vernaculars in all parts of the Presidency. Phamphlets in the vernaculars should be printed and circulated broad cast. There is no use of a few stray enthusiastic preachers going about the country and bringing trouble upon themselves from the authorities who are very jealous of preaching in the vernaculars. The lecturers who are to go about under the auspices of the Provincial congress organisation should be carefully selected, given full instructions, and kept well in check. Much can be hoped for from the masses whose unsophisticated natures will be a tower of strength to any movement. I have always felt that there is more will power in the ordinary man than in the present product of English Education, and I have always thought that if the swadeshi movement has been well preached to the masses, it would not have had the fate that has overtaken it. I also believe that the masses, poor as they are, which their few wants, can give more to the national purse than the educated classes with their vastly increased selfish personal expenses have been able to do in the past.

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THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE AT CUDDALORE.

N E W I N D I A,

11th May, 1917.

Editorial:--

The Provincial conference passed two important resolutions, first, on the Defence of India force, in moving which Mrs. Besant appealed to youngmen to join the army in spite of the fact that the government had not done the right thing which the congress has been asking for years. It has been a growing belief with many Indians that though the government of India have made provisions in their New Act for admitting Indians in the Defence force, these are going to be respected more in the breach than in observance, since those who have the working of the Act in their power do not seem to be overanxious to have Indians well trained in the use of arms. Even if this be true, at least 6,000 young Indians ought to enter the new army, putting up with inconvenience and brushing aside the insults involved in the terms of entry into the Defence force. It is likely that obstockes may be put in our way, but we should be prepared to show that we are more determined to be effecient in the use of arms and undergo military training than ~~are~~ those whose desire is said to be to keep Indians out of the Defence force.

The second Resolution was entrusted to Dewan Bahadur L.A.Govindaraghava Iyer and was on Self-government- He began rightly referring to the declared policy of Great Britain in the Great War; She was fighting for "the principles of Justice", of fairplay, of liberty, of equal opportunities". ~~xxxxx~~ Another thing that the war brought ~~xx~~ out was "that it is was not by holding people in subjection----but that it was by allowing them the fullest freedom that they count upon their sympathy, etc."

An array of speakers followed:--

The Hon.Mr.M.Ramachandra Rao referred to the present enactments, not giving the people's representatives the power of the purse; Mr.G.A.Natesan said it was an old cry; Mr T.Sivasankaram thought that our demand implied our fitness, the Hon Mr.K.V.Rangaswami Iyengar, the elected representative of the Madras Landholders in the Supreme Council, said that "the landed aristocracy had now come to realise that the Scheme of reforms demanded in the 19 members Memorandum was for their benefit", and added a truth that it was a great mistake to suppose that the members of the landed aristocracy will suffer under Home Rule for India. Under the rule of Indian democrats, the conditions of Zamindars would be considerably bettered." Several others added the strength of their opinions and the last speaker Mrs.Besant, made a powerful speach. She referred to the United States of America, France, England and Russia, and added:--

"With India's past and with her present, who shall dare say that India is unfit? It is only an excuse, only a pretence; they know that they cannot justify it. India is fit for liberty the moment she intends to take it and makes up her mind. Whether you are fit or not, it is for you to prove in the next few years. If you are fit for it show it by the protest that the government dare not disregard. Remember that you have today in your scheme one advantage you never had before. England stands as fighting for Freedom. The whole world will look on her and look on you. How can England face the world, when peace arrives, if the only autocracy that rules in the world is the autocracy of Great Britain in India?

~~is the autocracy of Great Britain in India?~~

We draw special attention to her speech, especially the attention of those timid folk, who, with bated breath and whispering humbleness, ask "Is India fit?"

THE COIMBATORE CONFERENCE

NEW INDIA,
30th May, 1917,

(Editorial:--)

The congressmen of Coimbatore have allowed themselves to be bullied out of doing their duty to the congress and the country. According to the account of one of their leading men, an emissary from 'Justice' appeared in the town, and stirred up strife in a harmonious Reception Committee-- Then an attempt was made to impose a new creed on the delegates to the conference, a piece of flagrants disloyalty to the congress, more over such a conference could not be a part of the congress organisation. An idea was started to have two conferences, and this alarmed the weak, though exactly the same threat had been made at calicut and cuddalore. In both these places there were men who could not be bullied, and the threat fell flat, as it would have a fallen flat at Coimbatore, had there been one strong man loyal to the congress. Police threats increased the excitment. The 'Leaders' of the Reception committee, instead of going on with their own work, met the assailants, and weakly submitted to them. At a public meeting a Mr. Sambanda Mudaliar was put in the chair, he would not allow discussion, he put a resolution not to hold the conference, and declared it carried, against a majority-- according to a report sent- and then ran away! Such a meeting is obviously worthless.

The result is a triumph for 'Justice', the Anti Brahmanas, and the Government. The Reception Committee has betrayed the Congress, deserting it at the very moment when its reform principles are attacked by the congress leaders, thus encouraging the government Governor and flinging to the dogs.

the congress leaders, thus encouraging the government to take against them the threatened action. We did not know that there was one town in India capable of thus disgracing itself. Let us hope that there are no other Coimbatores.

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New India,

1st June, 1917.

PROTEST NEEDED.

Home Rule.

We are glad to see that Salem has led the way in protesting in a public meeting against Bond Pent land's threat of repression, directed against constitutional agitation. If people silently submit to their liberties being taken away by the Executive, no resource is left to them but in revolution, and that resource should be avoided by every means consistent with honour and good citizenship. To close the door on constitutional liberty is against every tradition of England, and is a direct incentive to secret conspiracy aiming at revolution. Protest meetings are good, speaches of political leaders at conferences are good, resolutions passed by conferences are good. Best of all will be joining the Home Rule League in large numbers, and the increased circulation of the Home Rule pamphlets. Every Home Rule Branch is a centre from which should spread out in every direction the waves of propaganda. If England distinctly knows what we want, she will agree to it, but if we cease agitating because of the Governor's Command, she will very well understand that we are not serious, but are only playing at politics. The Governor's speech is a defenite admission of the strength of the Home Rule movement. The Home Rule for India League (British Auscilliary) is working steadily for us in England, but our English comrades would drop their work and look on us with contempt, if we flinched before unconstitutional threats of violence.

New India,

6th June, 1917.

Lord Pentland -

HOME RULE.

The Scathhing condemnation of the entire Indian Press, throughout the country of Lord Pentland's uncalled for speech is already made familiar to our readers. We havex also drawn attention to the unequivocal response made by the Hon.Mr.K.V.Rangaswami Aiyangar and the Hon.Mr.Venkatapathi Raju--we have chronicaled the views of the Andhra conference and its President, and in today's speech by Mr. T.V. Muthukrishnax Aiyar, one of the Secretaries of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, at the Trichinopoly District Conference at Elamballi. We congratulate him on his couaageous expression and his trust in the women of India who, he said, would inspire them to struggle for Home Rule if the great woman exponent of Home Rule, Mrs.Besant was interned. The Hon.MRT.Rangarchariar, who represents the Madras Municipality in Lord Pentland's council, also hxx has spoken out. Under the auspices of the Coimbatore District People's Association he spokex on" Our Present political out look" and referred to His Excellency's speech. He differed from Pentland and thought that" this is the proper time to bring to the notice of the Democracy in England the state of affairs here, "He further said." If his (Pentland's) appeal was to cooperate with him to put down an agitation with reference to the propaganda as laid down at Lucknow, then the appeal will fall on deaf ears. We all detest unholy and unwholesome agitation. I do not know that there was hardly any accasion or urgency for His Excellency the Governor's remarks."

Thus one more Legislative councillor, whom Lord Pentland thought he was carrying with him, does not desire that honour. Who comes next?

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New India,
11th June, 1917.

INDIAN PRESS ON LORD PENTLAND (HOME RULE)

The "Amrita Bazaar Patrika" cannot believe that Lord Pentland has so far lost his head as to provoke a fierce agitation all over India at a time when absolute quiet should prevail in the country. Even the most indifferently educated India will join such an agitation, if an attempt is made to strike at the very root of civil liberty. It may be that such a lash is necessary to arouse such of our timid countrymen who have been silently suffering wrongs done to the Nation without any protest. The 'West coast Bulletin' in the far South suggests that 'Civilian influences are seen to corrode his (Lord Pentland's) faculities." In two succession issues 'The Bengalee" attacks Lord Pentland, calling the speech a 'Petntant and silly pronouncement", and we are glad to note that the congress committee of Bengal has taken in hand "the publication of a pamphlets containing some of the most notable pronouncements on the subject."
The 'Lucknow Advocate' says that: "The only answer that we can make to the threatening speech of Lord Pentlant is the persist in our agitation" with which view we fully agree. It further says, "A government clothed with despotic powers can easily take the advance(of 'Madras Mail') and wreck an individual, but they cannot break the ideal for which Mrs.Besant fights. If she is hurt, Nationalism will smile. As for Messrs Arundale and Wadia, they are ready to pay the penelty for patriotism and honest purpose. As for interning Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Aiyar the Government may be inclived to do so because Mr. C.P. is one of the most honest and loyal publicists in India. If they and Mrs.Besant are imprisoned well, the government will have to face a new, angry India. And peaceful Madras will have the bureaucracy as one man and by constitutional means teach them an

important leason which they cannot easily forget. Already the 'Hindu', which is generally very solen, has with admirable courage taken Lord Pentland to severe task for his gratuitous attack on a loyal and law-abiding movement and its guiding forces. Awful gloom looms on the Madras bolizon- We know not what the upshot of Lord Pentland's abusive sermon is going to be.

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CONGRESS AND HOME RULE LEAGUE.

NEW INDIA,

14th June, 1917.

What is the difference between the congress and the Home Rule League? Their programme is the same, since the League is working for the congress League scheme. The president of the Home Rule League has delivered many lectures on this scheme and has been working diligently for it. (The only difference really is that the congress used to meet once a year and its resolutions were not accomplished with methods of carrying them out, nor any mandates as to achieve work throughout the year. The Home Rule League began active continuous work. With one object only, and tried to strengthen the local congress organisations. Then came the congress of 1915, ordering the drawing up of a scheme; the work on it of the congress and Muslim League committees, its representation to the congress of 1916 and its acceptance; for the first time the congress ~~just~~ put forward a definite scheme and ordered an educative propaganda to popularise it, bidding its own organisations, the Home Rule Leagues, and other public bodies carry this on, It is the intensely practical nature of this work which has aroused fear of its success, and threats of repression.) Academical resolutions once a year could be smiled at, but this definite work meant business. Hence the trouble. All the opponents shorted" unpracticable', 'Visionary,' but it was the practicality that caused passic.

THE PUBLIC MEETING : Editorial:--

NEW INDIA,

22nd June, 1917.

The Public meeting held last evening at the Gokhale Hall was unique in the history of our National Struggle for several reasons. In the first instance, we are sure that at no time have so many leaves from all parts of the Province rushed to the metropolis for a single public meeting. No less than eleven representatives came from the remotest district of South Camara, locally called 'the tail end of a benighted Province." If the meeting had been held a day or two later, the stream from the muffusal world surely have been far more voluminous, as is shown by the contents of the telegrams read at the meeting Secondly, we desire to emphasise its representative character, from the stand point daily emphasised by our enemies, the caste or the racial differences. One of the Directors of the South Indian People's Association, Mr.Guruswami chittiar, spoke yesterday on the protest resolution, and among those who came from the muffusal were a number of non-Brahmana leaders. We are surely not surprised at their presence, though the government will doubtless be yesterday's gathering has given us a very prompt indication of the growing unity of the Nation under the heel of repression

There is widespread desire--enevitably it expressed itself yesterday to take the swadesi view at this crisis, and that it is perfectly essential to take it, has been emphasised again this morning by the Madras Times' by its adverse criticism. The unanimous acceptance of that part of the Second resolution indicates the determination of the Madras people to give a practical turn to our protests, and what ever Anglo-Indian journals may sa , this country seems resolved to give a fresh impetus to the Swadeshi movement. The vast majority of the delegates at the meeting desired that the demands of the people ought to be far more emphatic,

and we have no doubt such ~~bill~~ resolutions have already been passed demanding the recall of Lord Pentland, which claim is however discouraged by some Nationalists on the ground that we can not have a greater supporter, though unwilling, of the Home Rule cause in this Province. His Excellency has already influenced several of our leaders to join the Home Rule League and his persistance in his ill ~~advised~~ advised policy will ~~fur~~ further strengthen the National movement as uniquelly as did the doings of Lord Curzon. Even from that standpoint, we suggest that the resolutions demanding the recall of the Governor is useful. For the government is now accustomed to refuse every demand of the Nationalists, consequently, they will refuse to recall him, if it should be demanded. What is more, resolutions of such a tupe will infuse greater courage into those few Indians who are wavering in their attitude at this crisis.

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NEW INDIA,

July, 11, 1917.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

'The report of ~~th~~ an interview with Mr.Polak in Mahratta, shows as if the difficulties of our countrymen in South Africa are begining afresh. We agree with our contemporary that, "As far as Indians are concerned the remedy lies in their acquiring their natural Rights of Freedom in their own Native land. When these Rights are gained, if would be no so difficult to deal with colonies that chosen to pass laws shamefully in human in their intention, wording and working. In India lies the key to the solution of the troubles which our brethren are subjected to in the colonies of the Empire and elsewhere."

Our work for the achievement of this position is going on strenuously here, but we hope that in the concentration and pre occupation that the work demands, we shall not lose right of this problem, which, as a matter of fact, is one of the reasons for our demand.

New India,

21st July, 1917.

INDIA AND MR.MONTAGUE

Editorial:--

We were, of course, prepared for the attitude of suppressed truculence on the part of the Anglo Indian Press over Mr.Montague's appointment, but the London"Times" has gone one better than these friends of the Bureaucracy, for all its pledged support of Mr.Lloyd Geogge's xxxxxxx ministry and policy. The 'Madras Mail', in its own absurdly xxxxx original and mischievous manner, suggests with impurity that Mr.Mortague may safely pursue further measures of repression relying on the indulgence which the Indian public, it believes, will accord him on account of his past record. But the 'London 'Times' which has had the advantage of reading the full text of his speach last week, wherein he referred to the need for increasing the responsibility of the Indian government to the people of India, is disquieted rather seriously and thinks fit to give him, as one would say, in the language of the Press lame, a warning, and Mr. Lloyd George, a hint. According to Reuter, the 'Times' wants"his somewhat made sketch of the future government of India", taken "as expressing his own irresponsible ideas and not the considered policy of a Minister". The 'Times' is not now, we hope, in the grip of Sir Valentine Chirol, in regard to Indian politics, but if it is, we are sure, Mr.Montague knows how to deal with it. So far as Mr.Montague's statement is concerned it is, as we pointed out on Wednesday, the logical development of the principles he stood for and carried out in 1910-14. We will only reinforce our view by one statement which we made in 1911 in the House of commons, of his considered policy as a responsible Minister.'

'The course of relations between the House of Commons and the people of India," "must take the form of gradual delegation.

There are these two problems always before the House, The one show much of your powers of control to delegate to the people of India, and other is how most wisely to exercise the powers of control that you retain." That it should now be his considered opinion that the time for such further delegation has arrived need not have caused the "Times" such surprised, if it had only referred to his speech of a few weeks ago, which indeed received its commendation at the time. He then said. "The treacheries, the inhumanities, the uncivilised of Germany evoked from the begining in India the same response that they evoked in all their parts of the British empire. If such a crisis were wanted for the purpose, at any rate, those, who were warning us, and hinting on suggesting the disloyalty of India are silenced for ever, and unanimously at last, We can think about India in a new light as a great Empire which has ranged itself beyond question with our Dominions and with the Mother country; great Britain has done well by India, but her work is by no means finished. It has not only to be carried on but developed. ~~It has not only to be carried on but de~~ It has reached a stage where inattention and failure to grasp an opportunity may possibly spoil the generations of work that have been put into it. Think of it, study it, concentrate if our thoughts upon it, not only when some event or some controversy awakens your interest, but study it continually with the sympathy that it deserves as one of the vital problems of the movement. Remember India is a country of infinite possibilities and the widest range of interests and of activities, peopled by millions of people to whom love of their country is something ~~xx~~ more ~~ix~~ imaginative, even more religions, their any where else in the world. Our task, it seems to be, is to set ourselves ~~xxx~~ to perfect the institution for the expression of their ideals ~~xxxx~~ as to give them the opportunities

the institution for the expression of their ideals as to give them the opportunities which with our help, they have war and are wining, and which they demand now from us as fellow fighters in the struggle, for own existence and for the overthrow of own common enemy.

New India,

4th August, 1917,

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIA'S DEMAND

(HOME RULE)

India is not just now demanding complete Home Rule. She is demanding a substancial measure of it. For, while recognising that much spade work yet remains to be done, She realises that no part of this will ever be accomplished, so long as the present bureaucracy holds the reins of power in the country. As the 'Mahratta' puts it "the Bureaucracy can never be expected to give India the education and opportunities which India needs for rapidly fitting itself for "full self government" and it is only by removing the sceptre from the hands of the Bureaucracy and placing it in the hands of the Indians however unequally diffused the education, and however narrow the electorates in respect of most of the intennal affairs of India, that a ~~refind~~ Rapid development in the direction of "full Self Government" will be possible".

All that hinders our progress can be removed and all that will accelerate our progress brought into effective operation, only when we have the power in our own hands and the responsibility on our own shoulders.

New India,

15th Agusut, 1917.

MADRAS CONGRESS COMMITTEE ON PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

The question of Passive Ressistance was discussed at two meetings of the Madras Provincial congress committee held yesterday and the day before with the President, Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer, in the chair, in which prominent members of the muffasal took part. After a lively debate which lasted for over five hours and in which various amendments were proposed for consideration, it was finally resolved on the motion of Mr.G.A.Natesan that it was admirable to adopt a policy of passive resistance in regard to unjust orders prohibiting meetings(1) for the purpose of protesting against unconstitutional and unjust internments and the repressive policy of the government generally and (2) in furtherance of the constitutional propaganda" would, we presume, include meetings, processions and publication of leaflets and pamphlets intended to promote the cause of the congress, the Muslim league and the Home Rule on a Swadeshi meeting is prohibited by an order of a Police officer or by an order purporting to be issued under the Defence of India act, it is perfectly competent, we suppose, for the passive resister, following the example of Mr.Gandhi in Chanparan, to refuse to obey such an order and take the consequences of any disobedience of the existing laws of the land. The Passive Resister would be, according to Yesterday's resolution, within the strict limits of constitutional agitation.

Yesterday's resolution was, under present circumstances, only the first step on the road of Passive Resistance, and it gives opportunities to the largest possible member of people throughout the Presidency to put the resolution into effect If, however, the repressive policy of the government continues in its present unBritish form depriving the people of their elementary rights as British citizens and if there is no

disposition on the part of the Bureaucracy to see the unwisdom of their present course, it would inevitably be necessary to consider what other forms of Passive resistance will have to be adopted. We, with the rest of educated India, do not for one moment desire that such a state of affairs should ever come about in this country during the war or after it, and if it does, the responsibility for it will not be upon the people who have been compelled to resort to it , but upon the administration which would go on pilling up one repression upon another in bewildering rapidly and in the face of the profound peace that reigns in the land. We trust there is yet enough statesmanship in England, which would, in time, recognise the signs of the times in this country.

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New India,

28th August, 1917.

Mr. Montague's Announcement

(Editorial:)

Mr.Montague's announcement on British Policy in India is probably his reply to the representation of the Joint confe-rence of the congress and the League. We find in it, for the first time, a definite statement on the goal of British policy in India, and to that extent, it will be received with satisfaction in India. The further information that Mr. Montague will visit India to discuss the popular demand on the spot is not very encouraging, though it will be unjust to that statesmen to ~~forfeit~~ forebell disaster as its inevitable consequences. How far that visit will be useful depends mainly on two factors:-- Mr.Montague's selection of the people to be spoken to, and secondly--that is the more important factor- a complete reversal of the repressive policy including the release of the five interned leaders, Mrs.Besant, and Messrs Arundale, Wadia, Shanket Ali and Mohmad Ali, Unless the Secretary of State ~~instant~~ instantly orders that act of justice, genuine cooperation from the Indian Public in his self appointed task will be impossible, and he will observe, not an Indian free to express its will but a muzzled India seething with resentment and discontent. Mr.Montague will not find it difficult to appreciate our view in the light of his recert experience with respect to the Just problem. Few self respecting and thoughtful people will accept the genuieness of the change of policy so long as they find their honoured leaders kept away from discharging their legitimate and patriotic duties.

Mr.Montague's pronouncement is unhappy also with respect to its vague wording. It needs, as the "Hindu" has aptly remarked, like a gubernatorial utterance and India has very painful recollections of the false hopes often raised in them. The announcement gives clear evidence of bureaucratic ~~draftmanship~~

draftmanship, at any rate it contains but little proof of the b boldness and statesmanship which can be traced in every passage of Mr.Montage's speech on the Mesopotamian muddle which is discussed in another article, and form which his own views on Indian Political progress are fairly clear. Needless to add, it will be very unwise to weaken the political agitation because of any promise held out in the pronouncement in greater detail in another issue.

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New India,

9th September, 1917.

THE DEMAND FOR SWARAJ.

Leaders of the people in Nations that are not self governing may carry on political agitation in many ways, each differing from the other and may, by not daring to reach out their hands to any great length, make very moderate demands, but there is no escape for them from the ultimate recognition of the fact that there is no means of national salvation except self government and that self government can never be securely founded without making executive officers responsible to the representatives of the people. When these leaders have to formulate their own demands, they find it impossible to do anything else than putting emphatically forward the demands of their rivals even though they might have expressed the strongest disapproval of these. These sentiments are expressed by the"Kesari" in reference to the resolutions passed by the Non-Brahmana conference at Coimbatore. It seems that there is to be non-Brahmana conference of the same kind at Belgiam in the Bombay Presidency; We for our part hold that the whole question of communal representation should be settled once for all by open discussions and friendly compromises on all sides. The principle is accepted in the congress scheme and it is best to give it as full operation as may be needful. Once this is done there is no doubt that all such conferences, though at present they look as opposing the scheme, will come to decisions entirely in famour of the scheme. As our contemporary says, the resolutions at all conferences are bound to be for Home Rule. To put it in his own words;

"All that is wanted is the people should open their months to demand. The Word Swaraj will come out spontaneously."

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New India,

18th September, 1917.

THE TRIUMPH OF CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION.

It is not for us ~~xxxxxxx~~ unduly to emphasis the personal aspect of Mrs.Besant's liberation from bureaucratic thraldom. Nor do we propose to day to make ~~xxxxx~~ clear how much the changed and liberal policy which it betokens bears upon the fruition of the country's great demand for Home Rule. But what we consider the most significant and clearing aspect of this act of His Majesty's Government in India is the great triumph which our course of constitutional agitation, so valiantly started by our leader, Mrs.Besant, and so ably, unremittingly and patiently pursued by the people, has borne fruit. It has moved the British democracy from its great pre occupation to right a grievous wrong, to remove a sore injustice done to one whom they knew full well and were ready to trust to the full to maintain and fight for the great traditions of liberty and justice, the eternal principles of freedom and self government not merely free from violence or unconstitutional methods, but actually restraining agitation for legitimate, but long overdue, demands from getting into the paths of violence or unconstitutionality It need hardly be said that the provocation ~~xxx~~ on the other side has been extreme; that abuses and threats, represide and resistance of all sorts have been borne by the people of a great continent like India, with a patience, with an absence of any symptoms of violence or of exhibition of ~~trumpt~~ tumult, confusion or trouble of any kind which must be an object lesson both to doubting friends and opposing foes.

The success of our achievement through constitutional, orderly and organised agitation in this matter is, we are inclined to think, unique in the history of our ~~xxxstitution~~

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constitutional struggle in India. The Imperial government impressed by the efforts of our leaders has yielded to public opinion in India, and a great grievance redressed. The bureaucracy unfortunately have from the outset disabled themselves from associating in the great work of acknowledging the grievous errors of the past and of helping forward a great people in the realisation of their destiny under the Supreme direction of a free British Empire- We are sincerely sorry for this and if it is yet possible, we would honestly and sincerely to frankly and openly ask them to cooperate in the noble work of Imperial patriotism in which whether they like it or not-is bound to be accomplished not in the distant future, but in the near present. The triumph of a constitutional agitation which has now effected so direct a reversal an undesirable policy is, we are sure, the begining of a period when we will hear of no more of official prestige and find government fully responise to public opinion, convinced that its capacity for increasing the people's material and moral well being would be adequately developed only by altering its constitution on the basis of self government. Let us, therefore, learn our time lesson from the great and strenuous work we have done so far, viz, to pin our faith firmly in constitutional, yet vigorous and unflinching agitation, and let us go forward in the work of national regeneration in the spirit in which we have worked for and achieved this ~~just~~ first great triumph of constitutional agitation.

In the work which fell to our countrymen and our friends in England to carry out during the dark days which have cleared so appreciably to day, the most ~~indbatignable~~ infatiguable is, of course, our revered leader Sri Subramania Iyer. In the darkest mount of the trouble which threatened us at the time, he it was that out of his scelusion, came so manfully forward and with intrepidity which no other of his countrymen was then able to command, gave the country a lead which has

so enthusiastically and gratefully taken by a people momentarily perplexed for guidance and today he has the satisfaction and solace that the incessant patriotic work of his sleepless soul, has not only secured the primary objects for which it has to be undertaken, but has left the country with an organisation, a political education and public spirit which under normal conditions may have taken years instead of months to accomplish. The interment and its concellation have left their permanent impress not only on the "educated few", but upon the masses of the people in the way of political preparation and constitutional agitation. Let us not let it diminish either in quality, quantity intensity or vigour, but let us apply ourselves to the great work that lies ahead with more cheer and faith and with more vigour and devotion than ever before.

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357 233 2191 361

New India,

22nd September, 1917.

WELCOME.

Madras offered yesterday to Mrs. Besant and to Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, a welcome back into its midst which was in the opinion of those who are familiar with such functions, absolutely unprecedented both in its favour and its extent. We have no doubt that the occassion will stand as a prominent landmark in the history of the rise and growth of a truely national sentiment in India and in the progress of the movement for Home Rule. To both foes and friends the occassion had lessons to teach. Nobody can now decieve himself or try to deceive others into the fond belief that the Nation as a whole does not stand unflinchingly for the great principles of liberty and self government. Nobody need now feel an y doubts about the strength of the National will on the point or about the final triumph. The most striking feature of the whole matter to our mind was the absolutely ~~xxmxistakabkex~~ unmistakeable testimony that it provided of the fact that the great idea of Home Rule has penetrated into and spread itself our each and every stratum of society without exception and that it has been received every where with that common sense. Understanding of the heart of great principles and that religious favour about things that relate to the Motherland that are pearbiously characteristic of our nation. People realise mone in their millions that Home Rule or Self government under the British flag is the destiny of India, that we have all to work earnestly and strenously to achieve that goal 'now' on pain, in case of neglect, of National degradation, and that under the British constitution the will of the people, when difenitely formulated and resolutely bent upon its object, is irresistable.

~~xxxxxxAnnexkex~~

Another striking feature of the great occasion was the absolute orderliness of the huge concourse and the perfect good humour with which everything was carried out. That such a huge ~~ward~~ crowd should ~~have required~~ have required practically no police to regulate it and that there should have been absolutely no disturbance of any kind during a procession extending over about six miles. Show how deep seated ~~are~~ our National respect for constitutionalism and ~~are~~ our racial repugnance for all violence. The idea of Dharma--of eternal principles that cannot be transgressed, of duties and obligations that may not be broken--joined to the per~~mission~~suasion that Ahimsa harmlesness--is the supreme low of life, is the source of the triumph of our present agitation, unique in all the world for its absolute freedom from all objectionable features, even though feeling have run high and words have been used with deliberate ~~intent~~ intent to provoke. This great sentiment found adequate manifestation and fitting culmination in Yesterday's magnificient reception.

And at the centre of all these feelings and sentiments and principles, stands the figure of Annie Besant, representing not a personality but a principle, not an individuality, but the Nation. India recognises that she ~~xx~~ embodies her people's passion for liberty, their longing for self government, their unbreakable resolve to win it, their unflinching determination to labour and sacrifice for it. Not only so, India remembers that it is her genius that has given the touch of reality and practicibility to those vague and in choate aspirations of her heart, which were stirred up into life by the triumpet call of the Bhishma of our National Host, our Dadabhai, but which again had sunk back into a sort of suspended animation under the weight of unpropitious circumstances and unimaginative minds. She has given the message and she is, there also to lead and

guide and labour in the thickest of the fight. In right royal measure does the desire and rivet the gratitude, the admiration, the love and the reverence of the people.

Yesterday's manifestation of joy and thankfulness marks, as has been truly said, the begining of an epoch of striving and struggling that will call forth all that is noblest, strongest and purest in us. In that time of great striving, but also of great promise and certain triumph at the end, we may, let us pray, have with us the leadership of all our great leaders of to day, but above all of Annie Besant. But we shall all xxxxx have to come forward and join the ranks under the banner held aloft by her, each bringing his own native offering. Money, men and work are all needed and needed in larger qualities, in large members and in greater intensity than before. If we achieve that, and we shallx achieve it in full measure-- we shall have given the best welcome and expressed the truest gratitude and reverence.

In our welcome to Mrs.Besant let us join the name of the greatest living Indians, the man on whose head is the snow of age, but in whose heart burn the fire of an indomitable will, the man who saved the whole situation at a time of supreme crisis and who strengthened the hearts and nerved the reviews of the youngest of us for the work of which was brought to a successful end yesterday. His endeavours in his country's cause and in his xxxxxx leader's behalf have been literally sleepless and to Sir Subramaniam Iyer India must offer one-voiced xxxxxxx reverence and love. May the two long, strong in the people's love, and in the Nation's gratitude.

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360 236 2197 364

New India,

24th September, 1917.

PUBLIC MEETING IN WELCOME TO MRS.BESANT.

The function was in every way worthy of the great cause for which we are fighting and for which Mrs.Besant and her colleagues have suffered. Even the most pessimistic of our countrymen present at Gouri Vilas must have gathered hope and courage at the success of the meeting. For the meeting only symbolised the consumation of the Victory at the first step of the great struggle that is before the country. The function properly began with the presentations of the holy water and address in Sanskrit to the reserved guest of the evening. The only show how earnest India is and, therefore, desires for Heaven's benediction on the cause and its workers. The presents by the merchants was another happy sign of the times, that an important section of Madras citizens has now joined the ranks of Indian soldiers for freedom. The sanskrit addresses dealt with the work of Mrs.Besant and offered prayers for her long life to help India in the struggle for freedom. The address in English presented by the three political bodies of Madras, spoke of Mrs.Besant's work for our country future. Mrs.Besant's reply was a brilliant piece of oratory and an appeal to the heart of India, which cannot go without response. More than any of personalities, it was the triumph of the principle of liberty, which however cannot be said to be fully triumphant untill the Muslim patriots are also free. After all India has been asking for only what Britain and America are fighting for, for the sake of other countries, with their blood and gold, but which is being denied her though it would cost England nothing. The

~~denied her though it would cost England nothing.~~ The struggle may be long and arduous, involving big sacrifices, but as Mrs.Besant reminded us yesterday, what else can any one desire but to suffer and lay his life on the altar of the Mother?

New India,

9th October, 1917.

Non-Brahmin activities: The Egmore Fracans,

The Fracas at the Spur tank on Sunday last deserves the careful attention of all law- abiding people. Insidious attempts had been made to ill treat the Brahmanas so systematically that their very sight proved a red rag to some drunken rowdies. There was an actual hunt for Brahmanas in the whole locality and members of even other castes were roughly handled when they were pointed out as Brahmanas. What has shocked the people all the more is that those who attempted to lead them, abetted them openly to such mischief. Dr.Nair is reported to have said after the affray. "If any one stands in your way, you will do as you have just now given a demonstration". If persons can publicly preach such dangerous sentiments and that too after so serious and unfair a fracas, and if they are to escape scot free, the situation created must fill every Indian with serious misgivings. We understand that some of the rowdies are still creating a disturbance in some localities between chetput and Egmore, and numerous complaints have reached us of a sudden assumption of insdance by several labours. We are aware that thoughtful Panchamas deplore this development as much as they resent this effort of the reactionaries to dictate future policy to them. Prompt measures to bring the rowdies to book will, we hope, be taken at once.

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363 239 2203 367

New India,

13th October, 1917.

THE DESTRUCTIVE GAME?

Anti Home Rule.

The policy adopted by certain Anti Home Rulers in this province has all along been curious. They have contended themselves with two very convenient positions: first, they decry the demand for Home Rule; secondly, they demand that in any scheme of reforms to be sanctioned by the British Democracy, adequate representation should be given to all communities. They purposely shut their eyes to the fact that none have asked for immediate Home Rule. The Home Rule League and all its leaders have repeatedly emphasised that our demand now is embodied in the congress- League scheme, so that on the first point, there is no difference between the Home Rulers and these critics. As to the second, the congress scheme has accepted the principle of communal representation, and in recent discussions in the Home Rule Newspapers, on the platform and in private conferences it has been repeatedly urged that no Home Rulers would resist the demand for communal representation. That being so, there is no difference, speaking generally, between the Home Rulers and their critics, but still the latter stick to their policy of decrying the Nationalist policy.

What then may be the reason for their unpatriotic tendency? Before we discuss that question, a few more facts regarding their tactics are noteworthy. In the first place, they declive to be drawn into any friendly discussion. If at all they attend a gathering a congress leaders, they come merely with a view to create rowdysm and not for fair discussion! Their policy has never been to persuade others as to the reasonableness of their aims, if at all they have any that deserve to be published. They refuse respectful cooperation; and they appeal always to the wilder instincts of man, abusing

their opponents in the most vulgar spirit; if not threating them with brutal force. In addition to this, they discreatly refuse to publich their own aims. Lest they should xxxxxxx reveal themselves in all their insanity to the creduloas few whom they have succeeded in misleading, they proclaim from the house tops that they so desire reforms; but they never proceed further and by down in detail their own scheme.

This point requires to be emphasised because of the probability of some people still holding the view that the Anti Home Rulers are guided by patriotic motives;xx

At this supreme crisis in the history of India, we find them indulging merely in destructive criticisms without a word giving out their own idea of reform. They cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the principle of communal representation is universally accepted. Where then do they disagree with the congress leaders? So far as the latter can judge, there is no cause of disagreement; and when the unanimity is emphasised, these mischief makers maintain that there is disagreement without pointing out where it lies. They decline to indicate it in spite of the challenge to do so. Before the coimbatore non-Brahmana conference met, they advertised the movement so enthusiastically that many thought that its resolutions would indicate the views of the opponents of Home Rule. But it is now argued that these resolutions convey the view of only Coimbatore - Non Brahmanas, and that it would be unfair to foist them on the province as a whole so even there, these mischief makers confine themselves merely to the negative plea.

All these considerations have compelled thoughtful people in this Presidency to conclude that these anti-Home Rulers have no definite scheme at all, and that their object is merely to create mischief and thus put obstacles in the way of the congress leaders. That is the unholy task

They have taken upon themselves. If their natives had been patriotic they would have told the people where they differ from the congress leaders, so that an agreement may be reached x acceptable to all. Like the "Madras Mail", they are profuse in their protestations in favour of "reasonable" reform; but in practice, they are merely destructive and mischievous. They have no definite ~~attractive~~ alternative scheme to offer; and it is doubtful whether they have. bestowed any thought on any such constructive movement.

New India,

25th October, 1917.

METHODS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

It is one of the Home Ruler's charges against the administrative system in India that the officials in charge are obsessed with an inordinate greed for power, which increases the irresponsibility of the whole system and causes all the mischief complained of. Every one who has an opportunity of examining the working of the system has necessarily to come to that conclusion. Speaking of the military administration, Lt.General F.H.Tysell has pointed out that this moral. The chief defect of this appears to him to be over centralisation, "which arises from the natural desire of the officers of the Head quarter staff at Simla to concentrate all the power and patronage of the army in their own hands". He proves that this evil, as so many others, is a legacy from the days of the East India company's administration, which was supposed to have been put an end to by the tramsfer of the government in 1858 to the British crown and Parliament. Progressive politiceans in India have always held that this charge was merely in mame and did not make any substantial difference in either the spirit method of administration; and that this is the root cause of many of the ills from which we are suffering. He further points out that with this concentnation of power, red tepe, whose "luxuriant" growth" had been "swept away in the Mealstorm of the great Mutiny;" has "Whinggled in at the office doors, and routine crept up from its temporary hiding place." The result is that, as in the civil departments, "the most trivial happenings are inconstinently make matters for active xy regulation." The gallant general winds up by stating his opinion that so far as the officilal is concerned "to his official mind the completeness of his office files is the chief reason for the existence of his office

This criticism of the Army Department applies with even greater force to the civil side of the administration. The whole machine is really "soul less" and a "swadalled and throttled" in red tape, and prejudice. The sooner it is replaced by another with an active life and a responsive soul the better for all concerned.

New India,

26th October, 1917.

THE FLAG CASE.

The High Court of Madras Yesterday passed what we venture to call a most extra ordinary order in the remision petition on the order of the Coimbatore Magistrate, Mr.Mac Michael, who returning from the collection's conference at Ooty on Sunday, hastily passed on the next morning an exparte order to the intenned two, to take down the flag flying in the compound of the course in which they were guests. The order was not served on any one of the persons concerned. Armed police came to the compound, and on the verbal order of the Deputy Magistrate, who claimed to be acting for the Magistrate, they violently uprooted the pole, removed the stays, and carried it away with the flag. While this was going on, an order arrived, and was not served, but thrown down on a table near which Mrs.Besant was sitting without a word to her. When the case was called on for hearing an adjournment was asked to obtain Council, Mrs.Besant being too weak to argue it for herself. Meanwhile the Deputy Magistrate was transfered to Vizagapatam by the Magistrate, and the Sub-Inspector who should have served the order was also transfered, we do not know whither. The case came on and the police asked, for an adjournment to obtain evidence. Then the Superintendent of Police who had taken out the order disappeared. After the adjournment to obtain evidence, the counsel said they brought no evidence. The assailed parties brought evidence, which remained unshaken. The Magistrate reserved judgement and went on tour, and the High Court could not be moved till judgment was on record, then a long delay accused. The parties left the jurisdiction without recovering the property illegally removed. Naturally they thought the High Court would deal with the case, as there seems no reason that it should have jurisdiction over Magistrates if not to correct them when they act illegally and unjustly. ~~Mrxxxx~~

Mr.K.Srinivasa Ayengar was prevented from entering on the merits of the case, for the Hon.Justice Ayling and Phillips declived to interfere on the ground that the other had nearly expired and the petitioner had left the jurisdiction of the Magistrate. They refused to go into the question as to whether the action of the Magistrate was out side or with his powers. Thus the petitioner is left without remedy and liable to prosecution for not obeying an order which could not be obeyed because the flag and pole were down before the order arrived which was not served? Mr.Justice Ayling said that prosecution was not within the range of practical politics, That may be so, but it was very much within their range while Mrs.Besant was interned, and had it not been for the hasty high handed ness of the whole proceedings, there is little doubt that she would have been enmashed in a criminal prosecution, and have had to run the chance of a trial for disobedience to the Magistrate's order.

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THE DEFENCE ACT AND RIOTING

New India,

8th November, 1917.

The misuse of the Defence Act to put down political agitation has been rightly condemned. The sharp weapon of such an Act was intended for certain specific purposes, and its use outside these-to stop political meetings, and to interfere with other constitutional rights is a serious infringement of the narrow liberties left us after the many coercive Acts which repress Indians, save where the word "Anglo" is prefixed to the geographical name, But its use in the Arrah riots cases is legitimate, for it will be remembered that one of the reasons given for its introduction was to put down the widespread looting of Hindu houses and villages by the Panjab Mussalmans, and it is obvious that where the conditions are reversed, its use is justified. We must not comment on this, as it is 'subjudice', but we may note a careful statement in the opening speech for the prosecution. Anglo Indians try to make out capital out of the riots as due to Home Rule, ignoring the fact that there has been far less riding this year than mostly occurs at this season, and that joint committees of Hindus and Musalmans, Cooperating with the Magistrates and the police, have maintained an unusual degree of order. But the useful statement is that twenty years ago similar riots brokeheart in the same place of origion as this year. If in 20 years the I.C.S. and the police, in the hands of Anglo Indian, have not succeeded in establishing place, it is time to try whether the placing of power in the hands of Indians would not bring about the desired amity, as in the Indian States.

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New India,

1th November, 1917.

A CABLE TO PREMIER.

(Montagues visit, Dangerous?)

Sir Subramania Iyer, has sent the following Cable to Mr.Lloyd George, the Premier. "As Honorary President of the Home Rule League, Madras, and on behalf of the Indian Public I wish to convey to the Premier our emphatic protest against the latest developments of the reactionaries' campaign against Mr.Montague Serious mischief and trouble is sought to be heated by this anti Indian agitation, and the excellent impression produced by the statement on future political policy in India on the 20th Agusut last as well as the tranquillising effect produced by the announcement of Mr. Montagu's visit to discuss reform proposals with governments, Indian leaders, and public bodies, and the release of Mrs.Besant and others is being nullified. The fact might be lost sight of in England that these reactionaries, who are actuated Solely by racial feeling, do not represent the entire body of Europeans in India considerably sanctions of which have dissociated themselves from the campaign against Mr.Montagu. The Anglo Indian Press, However, which is the counterpart here of the extreme Tory papers in England, misses no opportunity of making Mr.Montagu's mission a failure, conscious as it is that vested interests would suffer if that mission were allowed to succeed. That mission would be a complete failure, and the unrest in India would assure a very serious aspect, unless Mr.Montague's prestige as the highest authority in the Indian official hierarchy and the representative of the great British Democracy is maintained to the full. The reactionary press has been making capital out of a statement attributed to Lord Curzon that Mr.Montague was only coming out on conditions. It has already threatened that the European community would refuse to have any social relations with Mr.Montague, and this coupled with the fact that local governments have refused immitations to Indian social functions extended to Mr.Montague have aroused

strong feelings of resentment among the Indian public at the manner in which Mr.Montague's usefulness to India and the Empire are sought to be curtailed in deference to the prejudices of a loud mouthed, selfseeking clique which in this country claims to represent the great British Democracy. The consequences of any dimimution of the prestige of Mr. Montagu, whose advent is looked upon by the Indian public as an effort on the part of the British Democrary to extend a helping hand to India, would be unfortunate in the extreme and we would emphasise that no opportunity ought to be given by the authorities in England for the enemies of Indian progress to misrepresent or to be little Mr.Montague's dignity or powers. As not only the highest official responsible for India Government, but as the special envoy of the British Democracy, the maintanence of Mr.Montagu's prestive is of vital importance not only to the future of this country but to the maintanance of cordial relations between India and the rest of the Empire. The Indian public anxiously awaits an official announcement that its apprehensions in reference to the restrictions placed on Mr.Montagu's freedom of action are unfounded, in default of which it would be reluctantly forced to conclude that the recent announcement of the policy of the British government was only to remain a pious expression of hope.

New India,

12th November, 1917.

ENGLAND AND INDIA. -

HOME RULE.

In view of the curious idea held by the 'Madras Times' as to English labour and its ignorance of India, we may quote the following from a speech on India delibered to a popular audience in 1881, by Mrs.Besant. "What is our duty to this great land-------The answer comes in one word "Liberty", Train India for freedom; educates India for Self government, Do not only proclaim that Indians shall be eligible for the high places of the state; place them there. Let Indians be taken into the ruling council, and let the imposition of taxation pass into native hands. They understand the needs and capabilities of their own people better than we do; and would be able to raise more money while inflicting less suffering- The work cannot be done in a day; but it might be begin. The steady resistance of English officialism must be overborne; the endeavour to keep all highly paid places in English hands must be defeated. Unhapilly the will is wanting, not the power, In the old days Indian institutions were representative; let the old genius of native rule be revivified, and let a system of representative Government gradually replace the centralised despotism of our present sway."

Mrs.Besant's book let on "India and Afghanistan sold by thousands in England about that time; the book of Dadabhai Naoraji, Digby Hyndman and others had a large circulation. Charles Bradlaugh's, propaganda, the work of Sir William Weddermburn and Sir Henry cotton, spread a wide knowledge of of India. We have always looked forward to the aid of organised labour as soon as India made a serious demand to rule herself, and made it in a visible and self respecting spirit. That time has come.

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New India,

20th November, 1917.

FREEDOM IN COMPARTMENTS.

Congress League Scheme.

The Hon. Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri has written a valuable phamphlet on the 'Congress League Scheme' explaining and justifying its proposals. Congressmen will find if extremely useful. A section of special interest analyses the scheme put forward from the European side as an altenative to the Congress League proposals, the one now fattered by the committee formed in Calcutta. It is natural that the Europeans should support it, since it gives to Indians a power so circumscribed and fettered that their failure is ensured. While it flatters them with the names of "Ministers" and responsible government." But it is incomprehensible that any Indians, save reactionaries, the "Moderate and some Indians " approved by the "Madras Mail", should care to accept this tory chamber and Ministry, only meant for them to play with, while real power is kept the hands of the present governments. Mr. Sastri calls it as " "school of probation for educated Indians," and says:--

"It follows that the departments chosen to begin with must be comparitively unimportant, so that, even if they were mismanaged, the harm to the general administration might not be great. It is often true that a great reform has a better chance of success than a small one. This is a case in the region of Self government. Improvement in administration, to be real and lasting, would require increased expenditure. Where should the apprentice cabinet find the additional money? Whether it is to be by retrenchment in other departments or by fresh taxation. They will have to convince the general executive as well as the Legislative council. If they failed, would it be just to send them out for what might have been the perversity of the general Executive? As has been said in an earlier section, successful administration without control

of finance is impossible. Then, why is this process of experiment and trial considered necessary in the case of Indians? There is not a single instance in the wide world of a people having acquired autonomy by compartments. And who is to judge whether the experiment in a Province has been successful and when the next step may be taken? One party is anxious to advance, the other party is anxious to hold it back."

Apart from the inherent defects of the scheme its costliness by providing for two governments instead of one, the friction between the real and the pseudo- for the pseudo would be strong enough to annoy, though not to construct- the confusion in the Legislative council and the functions of the Governor, "the real head of one compartment and the figure head of the other,' it has the fundamental fault which makes it acceptable to the European community- whose present temper towards Indians we have had an opportunity of judging- that it practically puts off self government into the dim and distant future, and leaves for the immediate future a prospect of perpetual wrangling between the real and pseudo- governments.

The congress League scheme was passed after full deliberation and has been discussed all over the country before its coming presentation to the Secretary of State for India. Now, when Mr.Montague is in India, new schemes are springing up like mushrooms, without public discussion or public opinion behind them, all to be put before Mr.Montague, as though of equal value. We must hope that this difference will be noted by him, and that he will observe that the sudden activity of bodies and individuals, normally somnolent, should weigh but little against the steady work which made his coming desirable, and which has aroused India to demand Home Rule. It is a pity that he will have no opportunity of gauging public feeling, as he would have had in all the great cities had they been allowed to welcome him, for any reforms which ignore public opinion

will not open to India the path to Freedom which she is determined to tread. Mr. Montague should have been allowed to attend the congress, and to judge for himself of its value. He need not have come for the Presidential address, but he might have come on the second day, and have studied the temper of the congress and have heard some of the Indian Leaders. The congress is India's most important representative assembly, and to come to India to learn her wants, and to stay away from the congress, is a resolution which all will deplore.

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New India,

28th November, 1917.

NATIONAL DRESS IN PACHAIYAPPA'S COLLEGE.

We are glad to learn that the students of the college and High School Department of the Pachaiyappa's College have been permitted to attend the class, dressed in Dhoti, Shirt and upper cloth without coat and cap. It is quite in the fitness of things that the National dress should receive such encouragement in a National Institution like the Pachaiyappa's college. Principal Rollo has done well to follow the example of Principal Stathan of the Kumbakonam government college in this matter. Now the two of the foremost institutions in the Presidency have introduced the system rather, have encouraged the movement, we hope that the authorities of other institutions will have no difficulty in permitting the wearing of the National Dress by students in their respective schools and colleges.

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New India,

29th November, 1917.

A "TRUE "NATIONALIST

Mr.G.S.Arundale spoke the other day of the "Madras Mail" as a Home Ruler's organ indisguise. To day we find that it also stands for "true Nationalism"! It will preserve at all costs, the indigenous system of government (which it has discovered to have been an oligarchy) free from the intimation of foreign system like the British or Dominion types. According to our leanred contemporary, the Brahmana Vakils are true to their genius in clamouring for a Brahmanai oligarchy; but what is astounding to it is that even some Englishmen should tend their support to this plea for Self government on colonial times. Where and how the "Madras Mail" discovered that the genius of India is for Oligarchy, We do not know. So far as our knowledges, India has been famous for her democratic institutions, as we can gather even from the degenerate survivals of village institutions. "Self-government of the British or Dominion type is alien to India", gravely remarks our contemporary. We may add, foreign Bureaucracy is even more alien to India. And if the "Madras Mail" is perverse enough to continue interpreting the present agitation as one for establishing a Brahmana oligarchy, which undoubtedly it is not, it will be a National oligarchy for all that. And that would be much better than an alien Bureaucracy.

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ANGLO-INDIAN.
~~OlixGazzhyx~~

OLIGARCHY.

New India,

5th December, 1916,

The 'Madras Mail' thinks that British Oligarchy - if the world can be used and British rule--is better than Indian oligarchy, which is, "the Brahmana Vakil oligarchy of the Home Rulers." It is of course immaterial to the 'Madras Mail', which is only "out to delude' "moderate Indians", that Home Rulers have defenitely stated: "We do not propose to substitute an Indian oligarchy for the English bureaucracy now existing". We object to all oligarchies. Every reasonable man sees that the congress League scheme places political power in the hands of the non-Brahmana majority, and thus make impossible any" Brahmana vakil oligarchy". There are, however, many non-Brahmana vakils, and there is no barrier against non-Brahmanas in the legal profession from the status of law student upto the bench; a non-Brahmana holds the highest position among Indians in the Government - Sir Sankaran Nair and his predecessor was also a non-Brahmana--Sir Ali Imam. If non-Brahmanas have prefered to use their brain in commerce rather than in government service, they have chosen very wisely, and Brahmanas would do well to follow their sensible example, and leave government Service with its poor pay and few prizes to non-Brahmans, if they want it. The poor 'Madras Mail' is growing very desperate. However, its Editor is confirmed as Secretary of the British chamber of commerce, an oligarchy which defends British supremacy in trade and in banking. The "Brahmana Vakil oligarchy" is in the realms of fancy, but the British business oligarchy is a sadly solid fact.

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New India,

12th December, 1917.

DEPUTATIONS.

We have been surprised to find how deep and how widely spread is the anger aroused in Madras by the extraordinary policy of the Local Government in their selection of deputations. The treatment of the non-Brahmana Deputations who are in favour of political reform is that which has caused the strongest feeling, since the vast majority of the Non-Brahmana communities find themselves represented by the Nairities. The Six million ~~xxx~~ vaishyas with their long ~~extablh~~ established organisation, the one and a half million of artificers, goldsmiths, carpenters, and other craftsman, with their also long established organisation- both these have been holding meetings for the improvement of their communities extanding over ten and fifteen years- the great Nattukatai chetti community and the Hide and Skin merchants, representing trade and Industry, these and others are all left out in the cold, to say nothing of the Madras Presidency Association. The feeling of sympathy with all these important communities is so strong, that a suggestion has been put forward. Warmly supported and to be decided tonight, that the provincial congress committee and the Mahagana Subha should with draw from the half an hour granted to them. This is perhaps a little strengthened by the irritation felt that the two premier political Associatinns in the Presidency have been treated with such scant countesy, being allowed only half an hour between them, but the main anger is caused by the wholesale rejection of the Non-Brahmana progressive communities. It makes people think that the local officials, who are openly hostile to reform, have used their power to mislead the Viceroy and Mr.Montagu, and they have only themselves to thank for the feeling.

The bazaars are very excited over the rejection, for it is their inhabitants who are most strongly affected

affected by them.

The local government have certainly destroyed the calm and friendly atmosphere which existed, outside the small Nair faction, before the publication of the unfortunate list, and they have raised the kind of difficulty with which the local leaders find it very difficulty to deal.

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382 258 22141 ~~246~~

New India,

19th December, 1917.

D E P U T A T I O N S.

Remembering the Apologetic passage in Lord Pentland's Council speech at Ootacamund, last may, the squeezing out of certain deputations, such as the vishnakamman Arya Vaishya and others, seems an explainable manoeuvre. Even the Madras Presidency Association and the Andhra conference have nothing to thank the Local Government for, regarding their belated inclusion in the list of deputations, allowed to wait upon Mr.Montague and the Viceroy. Nothing short of the overt ardour of the higher authorities to hear these associations could have induced the local government to retrace their steps in the matter. But this is an eminent instance of "better late than never"; it has secured some tranquillity in political circles. How then is an eminent instance of "better late than never"; it has secured some tranquility in political circles. How then is it that the grandfatherly solicitude of the Bureaucracy failed, at this juncture, in the case of the Associations representing the masses and unenlightened interests? How, again, can we justify the deputation of the Ulemas, whose title to that honour, is questioned by their own Coreligionists, as will be seen from the letter of a Musalman gentleman in our Tuesday's issue, when, the deputation of the Varnashrama Dharmists was disallowed? A true insight into the heart of the Local Government can be had only by the help of Lord Pentland's speech of May last, His Excellency advising our leaders to desist from agitation for Responsible government during war time, said: "Yet there is no sign of any relaxation of this agitation, and the "educated classes" in India "are being led" to expect that which will not come, and in some cases that which, they know, will not come".

The government always contended that the masses and unenlightened interests did not come a job for administrative changes, that Mrs.Besant was unnecessarily agitating the public mind, and that her removal from public life would alone bring back the piping times of peace. But the result was an agitation, unprecedented for its vigour and volume. The order against Mrs.Besant had to be revised by the higher authorities. It must, therefore, have struck the local government to avail themselves of the visit of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, to prove to them that the conditions in this Presidency warrented such drastic action against Mrs.Besant. The present shuffling of the deputations could not have been done with the sole purpose of staying the hand of progress. Lord Pentland's government is not lacking in intelligance. The bureaucracy must have been by now convinced that its fate is sealed and only dirge remains to be sung. It, therefore, stands to reason that, if the Bureaucracy could not be saved, the resuscitation of Lord Pentland's political reputation at any rate could be attempted. Hence, this frantic effort on the part of the local government, to press in anti-congress schemes bodies, equally rigorously, hoping thereby to prove to the Secretary of state and the Viceroy that the majority of the people have been against any change in the administrative system. The Mahajana Sbha and the provincial Congress Committee could then be easily explained away as representing the "Microscopic" minority of educated Indians. No Government could be asked to foist, on an unwilling public, reforms, however good. We are, however, very happy to note that this game has been defeated. The local government has bungled all along the line from weakness to weakness.

x. association and to press out Pro-Congress scheme

New India,

24th December, 1917.

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

(Editorial)

We congratulate the organisation of the Presidency Association conference on the success that attended their efforts at the first session within four months of its starting, the Association has secured very gratifying support throughout the Province, and it has today no less than 26 branches with 2500 members. Its leaders had to face a very difficult situation from the outset. Many of them were frankly hostile to the formation of a seperate sectarian institution, and they consented to join the Association very retuctantly and solely to neutralise the mischief done by the Chetti Nair clique, as the self elected leaders of 4 millions non-Brahmanas in the Presidency. They had also to face the opposition, some times of a vulgar and brutal nature, of the paid agents of reactionaries official sympathy they could not expect; on the other hand, it was represented everywhere by the reactionaries, and some times with justification, that the officials were backing them up, and that persons adhering to the new Association would count as much official displeasure as the Home Rulers themselves. All those obstacles have been generally overcome, and so quickly that they have been able to hold a conference sooner than the reactionaries, though the latter had begun their venomous propaganda nearly a year earlier.

Mr.Lodd Govindass, the chairman of the Reception committee, devoted his entire address to a discussion of the non-Brahmana upheaval in the Presidency, and his exposure of the ways and activities of the Nair Chetti clique is very striking. He frankly discussed some of the criticisms levelled by the reactionaries against the Association, the most persistant of which is that its leaders are controlled by Brahmana politicians.

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New India,
24th December, 1917.

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The Hon. Mr. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar was brief in his presidential remarks. He gave his emphatic support to the congress League scheme, and urged that the Bureaucracy shall go.

He analysed the various schemes of reform under three groups; reactionary, ideal, and the practical; added, "I would put the scheme of the South Indian liberal Federation under the first group, that of the Home Rule League under the second, and that of our association under the third."Evidently Mr. Mudaliar is culpably ignorant of Home Rule Literature. If he had read only the address presented by the League to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, he would not have spoken of the Home Rule League in that strain.

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THE MISSIONARY HAVOC

New India,

1st January, 1918.

One more tale comes from the South of how the missionaries have captured two young men from the Hindu fold, one of them fairly rich and newly married. The mischief by the missionaries has naturally made the Hindu community indignant, but the indignation must not stop at condemning the missionaries, and bringing those concerned severely to book. The Hindus and other non-Christian communities in India must learn a lesson from the present case about the danger that the Y.M.C.A may prove, and make it their duty to provide for similar institutions run on National lines. Employing missionary ladies to teach English to our girls, as it was done in the present case, is another dangerous method in vague in Hindu families. The "Conservative Indian women" (blessed be her name) has withstood the wicked influences admirably, but the civil may gain the upper hand at any time. Most of all must parents become more religious, not inform but in life and spirit. The inspiration and guidance that religion alone can give to youthful enthusiasm is lacking often in our homes and that is why "foreigners" are able to decieve and pervent our youth.

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New India,

5th January, 1918.

O F F I C I A L   H O N O U R S

The bold manner in which Mr.Vijayaraghava chariar declined the honour that was bestowed upon him is not without its moral. It will be interesting to learn why the government which marked him out for its displeasure during the Salem riots should have now grown fond of him when he won the wormest eulogies from his colleagues, official and nonofficial, and from the Nation at large for his brilliant services in the Imperial council, the government was loathe to recognise his merit. As we said in our leading columns, the conclusion is irresistable that Mr.Vijayaraghava chariar was honoured for his seeming retirement from Public life of late. That a man like the late Mr.Gokhale had to decline the honour sought to be conferred on him gives us the care for the correct principles and action in such cases. If further proof were necessary, it will be found in the fact that many of our greatest patriots like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Madan Mohan Malavia and a score of others have served the country, without honourofic prefixes or the love and respect of their greateful countrymen.

New India,

10th January, 1918.

A "FRIEND OF INDIA" ON INDIA'S FUTURE.

Commenting on the labour party's manifesto and the principle enunciated therein of a new social order based not "on forced dominion over subject races", the Statesman' remarks that "it is notorious that if Self government were conceded to India in the course of the next fifty or hundred years, it would be given out to a country where subject classes (abound) and where a subject sex is to be seen, or rather exists without being seen". It seems as if this "Friend of India" cannot even think of Self government in India within the period of the next 50 or 100 years. Even supposing that it is granted then it trots out the bogey of the depressed classes and the subject sex. It does not certainly lie in the mouth of an Englishman to moralise to us about the treatment of women. In India, both in Hindu or Muslim households the women are held sacred. Englishmen who could look on without pity at the tortures of the hunger strikers in England, who could be brutal to women suffragist cannot stand up and say that Indians are unfit for self government because Indian ladies "are not seen" or they are a "subject" sex. It is only after the fires of war band chastened English manhood that a partial recognition of their rights has been accorded to English women. India knows things too well to be led astray by such red herrings drawn across the path. The Indian Nation has set its heart on winning Responsible government for India 'at an early date' and it is sure to achieve it.

THE "MADRAS MAIL" ON THE BUREAUCRACY:

Defence Act.

New India,

17th January, 1918.

The way in which the Defence of India Act is worked seems to be getting on the nerves of even such a sturdy advocate of the Bureaucracy as the Madras Mail. The paper complains that the principles which should govern the measures against seditious activity have been neglected. These principles of taking ingorous action only when necessary and if publishing the grounds for such action are known already in all countries with a common sense government. It is surprising that an Anglo Indian paper should, even with adequate reservations say that action is taken "in quite tribunal cases,"and ~~xxx~~d that" there is too much secrecy" Nevertheless the admission is the conclusion drown by the paper. Far from desiring to rob the alleged seditionist of much of his support by a disclosure of the grounds, the government are abviously afraid that, by such a procedure, they would be counting redicule, as more often than not their cases would not hold water. Hence the C.I.D's ~~xxxxietyxtxx~~ anxiety to shroud everything in mystry. A non-responsible government has no right to expect the people to adopt their use dicit. The paper appears to be wiser than the Government in so far as it admits that Sir Rabindranath is not "the kind of man likely to persist in upholding a young seditionaist if the facts are put to him". Would that it ~~xxxx~~ was possible for the government to do so? The paper also declares ~~xx~~ against proceedings against petty offenders and the treatment of every school boy folly as a state secret. We would like to know what could be said of the several actions against imaginary crime. Thus, the ~~Defence Act and its machinery has been condemned by~~

Defence Act and its machinery has been condemned by one of the murses. It is, therefore, hoped the Government may see, before it is too late, how fast its prestige is ebbing away under the ruled, the Defence Act, even in favoured quarters.

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New India,

21st January, 1918.

Home Rule Activities:

An official opologist.

On the press note of the Bombay Government about the agricultural distress in the Kaira District. Our opinion has already been expressed. It is only to be expected that the 'Madras Mail' would strongly opprove of the Government note. It says that the activities of Home Rule League are many fold and "its agents are quick to seize whereon to hang their propaganda". Rightly so, for Home Rulers are bent upon ventilating the grievances of the masses who cannot do it themselves. The "White Marwaries" and the 'ma-tap' government are either ignorant of, or indifferent to, their sufferings. "The machinary of District administration was capable of dealing with such wises" safely remarks the Mail'. It pretends to forget the fact that the members of the Home Rule League who at considerable self sacrifice took up the cause of the suffering raiyats did not doubt the capability of the official machinary but the readiness to work on the part of those who have the control of it. The Indian raiyat knows whom to trust, the efforts of the Madras Mail and the Bombay government not with standing. This Anglo Indian sheet heroically suggests that action should be taken against the Gujaratt Sabha. We hope the Bombay government would not do anything of the kind, most of all in their own interests.

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392 7 2261 354

ANGLO INDIAN IGNORANCE.

New India,
29th January, 1918.

Referring to our note, on Mrs.Besant's visit to Kumbakonam, the 'Empire' of Calcutta, is very much puzzled at our calling the town 'famous', and evidently feels that it has scored over us when it says: + "Were not looking, so we can't tell you what it's famous for". Our Anglo Indian contamporary may be ignorant- we don't wonder -- of South Indian history or Geography, but nevertheless Kumbakhonam is a famous town, famous as a great intellectual centre in the past; famous later, as the Cambridge of South India in the days of Porter and Gopal Rao, the like of whom are not to be found among the educationists of later days; famous, even to day, as an intellectual centre; famous as one of the great religious Hindu centres in Southern India, as the seat of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya; famous for its grant temples and towers; famous for its Mahamakham festivals, which attract lakhs of people every 12th year. If ancient tradition, education and religion can make a place famous, Kumbakonam is so. No body ever said that the town became famous because of Mrs.Besant's visit. Anglo-India. We thought was ignorant of modern Indian conditions, but we see it is also ignorant of Indian Geography and history. And yet, with ignorance such as this, it has the audacity to presume to understand the inner life of the Indian Writer as represented in the masses.

+. "We guess it got famous the other night when we

CIVIL RIGHTS.

New India,

8th February, 1918.

In view of the way in which the civil rights of Indians are being placed more and more at the mercy of the executive authorities, Sir S.Subramania Iyer has proposed the formation of an Indian civil Rights committee, on the lines of that formed in 1909 in England, with Mr.Mackarness M.P., as chairman. A few leading man in Madras support his proposal, and similar support will be sought in the other Promiees of India. It is clear that if the present state of things continues after the war, an immense impetus will be given to conspiracies which seek foreign aid against Britain, and the end of such a catastraphe it is impossible to forsee. No reforms will be of any use unless the series of measures starting from 1909 be cancelled, and the abominable Regulations then revived abolished. The country --omiting Anglo India and the Nair clique of course has co-operated with the viceroy in maintaining a calm atmosphere during Mr.Mantaju's visit. It is now for the Viceroy to cooperate with the country by repealing the obnoscious measures, and restricting the Defence of India act to its proper military use.

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New India,

5th March, 1918.

GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The Madras Times has nothing but praise for Mrs. Besant's pamphlet on Principles of Education" With a scheme of National Education in India appended to it. But, according to our contemporary its chief demerit is its "opposition to the system of education that is emparted by the government ". We think that this is precisely its merit. The present system of education is such that any attempt at cooperation with it is to forfeit the truly National character of the education which is comtemplated. Religious instruction, a great respect to the mother tongue, a true and sympathetic study of one's own Motherland, and training up the pupils into manly and patriotic citizens, these are some of the objectives aimed at by the National Board of Education. Will the Government be prepared to cooperate with it for these ends? The Nation will not and cannot compromise its position in any way. Once League in officialisation is sure to stippen the system, and in no time. The example of the Benares Hindu University is a warning which we shall always profit by. No doubt official approval which means changing the scheme entirely out of shape will result in the pupils not being deprived of a great many prospective advantages. "What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and loss his own soul? As it is, while the loss of soul is certain, the probables gain is merely of the outermost fringes of the office world, and that at the sacrifice of independence and self respect. The sooner the nation judges government

~~the Nation judges government service and other overcrowded~~

The sooner the Nation judges Government service and other ~~xxx~~ overcrowded professions allied to it at their true value and takes to more useful occupations in life, stiffening its backbone at the Same time, the better for it.

New India,

6th March, 1918.

HOME RULE - A RIGHT NOT A BOON.

A good deal, and a bad name may hang a dog, much more a Home Ruler. The old names of Indian parties, Moderates and Extremists, are now out of date and are misleading. An extremist' is supposed to mean a man who wishes to break the connexion between Britain and India by phisical force and is prepared to resort to violence, with assasinations and dacoities as acts of war. We do not deny the existence of a small party of Revolutionaries, who should be called by their right name of Terrorists. The great mass of Indian politicians show the unusual cleavage into two groups, characteristic of human nature--slow progressive and Fast Progressives, whigs and Tories Liberals and conservatives, with various sub divisions forming groups within the main body. All are in favour of Responsible government, but some want it to come very slowly, and others as quickly as is possible. Why should be not call them conservatives and Liberals, if no better names can be found? The conservatives would be those who want to consume the old method of the congress of piecemeal reform, concessions of posts in the administration, and the like, the liberals ask for the definite establishment of Home Rule by Statute at an early date, and the Congress League scheme as a minimum first stage. They would be ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ willing to accept more, of course, believing that India is far more fit for Responsible Government now than is Servia or Balgaria. They regard Home Rule as a right, not as a boon. The old English party names are by no means ideal, but they are better than the present mis~~sionaries~~nomers. Home Rulers would be the best name for ~~us~~ us, but then what name could the other party bear?

377 12 2271 256

New India,

12th March, 1918.

THE MADRAS CONGRESS COMMITTEE:

CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME.

At a long meeting of the Provincial congress committee yesterday evening the following resolution was passed: "That the Provincial congress committee is of opinion that no scheme of political reform can be necessarily inaugurated or worked, which does not conform to the principles of the congress League scheme, and calls upon the congress propoganda committee, the Home Rule Leagues and all the offiliated association to carry on a vigorous and active compaign for securing the congress League scheme of reform by arranging, among other means, for early public meetings at which the determination of the Indian people to stand by the congress-League scheme as their minimum demand shall be emphasised."

We are not revealing a secret when we say that the resolution has a history of its own. Some young congress-men, are keen, we are glad to say, on carrying on an extensive and a continuous propaganda in favour of the congress-League scheme. They note with some disappointment that more strenuous efforts are not being made in 1918 to improve upon and increase the propaganda for self government which was carried on in 1917. They are not in favour of maintaining the peace of 1917, they want to quicken it. ~~Theyxxarexeagerxtoxcoverx~~ They are eager to cover a wider ~~spa~~ space and to see that villages and towns which were not touched in 1917 are brought within the province of their propaganda activities. We congratulate these young friends and must record over full and whole hearted sympathy with their aims and aspirations.

~~The above resolution was the result~~ of a fair ~~discussion~~

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The above resolution was the result of a fair discussion. There were many members who wanted to go a step further. They wanted to give an indication to all whom it may concern that unless the scheme of reforms to be published by the authorities came into linewith the fundamentals of congress League scheme, popular cooperation with the government in favour of the scheme would not be quite possible. The feeling in the country was strong, and the congress leaders would not be able, contended our friends, to handle handle it in a manner satisfactory to the authorities.

This plan may appear to some to be in the nature of a threat. We do not think that would be the right psycological interpretation of the desires and views of those who expressed them. We prefer to look upon it as a warning and not a threat. It seems to us that it is the duty of congress leaders to acquaint the Secretary of state and the Viceroy with the prevolence of the very strong feeling in favour of the congress League scheme. If the fundamentals, the principles, of the congress League scheme are not stirctly adhered to in any scheme that the government may publish for discussion, there is sure to be a very strong agitation against it. This strong feeling, we also hold, prevails. The congressmen who brought forward and supported this view agreed to postpone the consideration of it for the present. We believe it was a wise course and we heartily support the above resolution that the congress committee has passed.

But there is one thing which the congress committee in our opinion, ought to like immediately in hand. The committee ought to ask for a report from its affiliated bodies on the views the muffusal organisations hold on this subject. It is possible that the Indian public may find it necessary, when the coming reforms are published for

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxpromisedxxxxxxxxxxx~~

discussion as promised, to resort to some plan of Passive resistance. We hope it will not be necessary, we trust Mr. Montague's scheme will be substantially in agreement with the congress League scheme. But suppose that that scheme does not make the Legislative councils fully representative and elected, and fails to subordinate the Executive to the Legislature, and refuses to give the power of the purse into the hands of the popular representations, what then? It is not at all difficult for us to imagine that the country as a whole will refuse to accept such "reform" with grace or gratitude, and we will offer against it some scheme of Passive Resistance. We repeat that we hope such a contingency will not arise; but the congress committees ought to be ready and prepared for it. For that purpose the Provincial congress committees should guage the mould popular feelings and thoughts through out the country.

We therefore throw out this suggestion and request our energetic young friends to move the Madras Provincial congress committee in the matter. We also hope that, true to the contents of the resolution passed by the committee, public meetings ~~xxxxxx~~ will be held here and in muffasal to deep up and increase our agitation for Home Rule.

New India,

15th March, 1918.

BOLSHEVIK HOME RULERS.

"Bolshevik Home Rulers" has become a familiar term with the Anglo Indians. Apart, however, from the sinister meaning of the term, we desire to know how it can be applied to Home Rulers in India. Evidently, Anglo Indians are comparing India to Russia, and they say that the Home Rulers are the Socialists who are now supreme in Russia. We desire to know, who in that case are the Cadets, and who are the reactionaries, who kept up the autocratic power of the Tsar without allowing him to introduce any reforms, untill he was kept away. So far as we can understand the comparison, Anglo-Indians, speaking from their own standpoint, would be right in comparing the Home Rulers only to the cadets. They tell us almost every day that the Home Rulers are composed of a small minority of people in the country, whereas in Russia the Bolsheviks are drawn from the masses, and certainly do not form any small minority as the cadets now do or everdid, in Russian politics, and it is the Home Rulers who are in favour of evolution and are fighting against those causes which, if persisted in, will bring about the growth of revolutionary ideas and incite the masses to revolutionary action. If things go on as at present, and the advice of the Home Rulers should be discarded in India, then the economic struggle is bound to grow keener, and the masses will ~~wil~~ stir up, creating a situation full of danger to the stability of the state. If the Tsar had listened to the advice of the cadets who then occupied the position similar to that of Home Rulers here, Bolsheviks would never have risen to power. From this standpoint, it will be seen that what Anglo-Indians are now trying to do is to create a school of thought like that of the Bolshevik.

They stand in the way of progress and ordered evolutions, and say every day that their object is to kill Home Rule. They want to create despair in the country by insisting that Responsible Government shall not be even the goal, and the despair thus created is sure to sow revolutionary ideas rather than the plea of Home Rulers, for ordered evolution, for the fulfilment of Responsible government. Happily for India there is little change of our ever witnessing the Bolshevik regime here. Unlike the Tsar, the British Statesman have defenitely laid down that India shall have responsible government, thus checking the growth of any revolutionary ideas in the country. There was the danger of Bolshevik trouble when, at the suggestion of Anglo Indians, an effort was made to kill the Home Rule movement by interments and other repressive measures, but the danger of the Anglo-Indian counsel was discovered in time.

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THE REAL REASON.

New India,

25th March, 1918.

An old boy of the Presidency College is very much perturbed at the 'Dryrot' working into his Alma Moter, and has written a well-reasoned but pathetic letter to the 'Hindi' regarding a recent action of the college authorities Mr. ~~Weby~~ Welby of the 'Madras Mail' is to lecture before the literary society in the college on Monday ~~visit~~ next. Permission once granted to the same literary society to how Mr. Jinarajadasa's lecture was subsequently refused. The reason for this is plain, and the writer of the communication need not have hesitated to divine it. It is the result of the different political faiths, held by the two gentlemen. Mr. Jinarayadasa is a strong supporter of Home Rule for India, which is gall and worm wood to the Anglo Indian professors of the Presidency college (and for the time being, also to some of their obsequious underlings). Mr. Webby is an anti-Home Ruler of the most militant and ~~scurritlous~~ scurrilous type, and his political faith is that also of the Anglo-India professors (and even civilians), though they would not confess it openly for the very good reasons. In other words, the college authorities reveal themselves as partial, in sincere, and politically reactionay. Yet such people are allowed to mould the minds of India youths, and the students are insulted by the presence of a man who abuses their greatest men, thinks Indians unfit for Responsible government and flouts every patriotic aspiration. We are glad that such incidents are happening very frequently, Like the mighty ocean in a huge storm washing ashore old wreckage and other rottem matter, the unrest in India is bringing to public view the bigotry, the prejudices and the real nature of the Anglo-Indians, and the Nation will learn the moral effectively.

New India,

3rd April, 1918.

The New Case for Home Rule.

(Editorial).

The 'Madras Mail' calls Lok-Tilak's statement of the reason for Home Rule, that he proposes to place before the British Public "The New case for Home Rule" "The main argument now is that India must be given Home Rule in the interests of the Empire" But that argument has been persistently pressed, over and over again, by the Editor of this journal. She has argued the need of India's Manpower for the salvation of the Empire, and has pointed out that Germany would never have dared to attack Britain if India had been a partner instead of a Dependency, had been armed and strong instead of disarmed and emasculated. She has quoted the congress resolutions and congress speeches urging the establishment of Military Colleges, and the repeal of the Arms act, in order that India might be able to stand by England in the hour of her need. Sri Pherozeshah Mehta Sir Sankaran Nair, urged this very strongly on the definite ground that England might be entangled in a European war, the latter saying caustically that India would be able to help only with her prayers! In her congress speech in December last the President said; "If Great Britain is to call successfully on her (India's) Man power as Lord Chelmsford suggests in his Man power Board, then must the man who fights or labours have a man's Rights in his own land. The lesson which springs out of this war is that it is absolutely necessary for the future safety of the Empire that India shall have Home Rule."

Again:

"If she gains Home Rule, as I believe she will; her

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her position in the Empire will imperatively demand that she shall be strong as well as free. She becomes not only a vulnerable point in the Empire, as the Asian Nations evolve their own ambitions and rivalries, but also a possession to be battled for. Mr.Waing once said: "India is the milch cow of England": a Kamadhenu, in fact, a cow of plenty, and if that views should arise in Asia, the ownership of the milch cow would become a matter of dispute, as of old between Vashushta and Vishnamitra. Hence India must be capable of self defence both by land and sea. There may be a struggle for the primacy of Asia, for supremacy in the Pacific, for the mastery of Australiasia, to say nothing of the inevitable trade- struggles, in which Japan is already endangering Indian industry and Indian trade, while India is unable to protect herself.

In order to face these larger issues with equanimity, the Empire requires a contemted, strong, self dependent and armed India, able to hold her own and to aid the dominions, especially Australia, with her small population and immense unoccupied and undefendable area. India alone has the man power which can effectively maintain the Empire in Asia, and it is a short sighted, a criminally short sighted, policy not to build up her strength as a Self governing state within the common wealth of Free Nations under the British crown."

7 A few years hence, everyone will see that this is mere commonsense, obvious and inevitable just now but it suits the 'Mail' to write of Mr.Tilak's " New Case for Home Rule". The 'Mail solemnly tells us that "India is defended out side India." Is Mr.Welby really so fatuous as to suppose that if the Germans engineered to thrust through Russia on Beluchistan

that the victories of the Allies in France would fail that thrust? Might not such an attempt be made, as in the Panjab, to create a diversion here which would help their situation in Europe? Oddly enough, the 'Mail' has an article on "The German Menace in Asia," bearing out the danger to the Empire.

Then the Mail' warms truculent, and warms us that "the British are in no mood to listen to threats of Passive or other resistance". We, further learn, to our astonoshment, that India "is moving, with the consent of all parties towards such self government as may eventually be found suited to her". But it is only a few days ago that Mr. Welby was summoned his posts to resist, not Self government, but any movement that tended in that direction. And it is not long since Home Rule was relegated to "the one of loomsday" Evidently, the conversion of the editor of the "Madras Mail" is going on by stages, and presently he will tell us that he has always been a Home Ruler.

THE CAMPAIGN OF VILIFICATION

New India,

12th April, 1918.

The Sydenham gang are very active, and gain entrance into local papers, the names of which are unknown outside their districts. But it must be remembered that they are read locally, and influence local opinion. After various mis representations as to divisions and educated Indians, are statement goes on:

"The present crisis in the politics of Indian government has been brought about by that ~~unnecessary fire~~ unsavoury fire brand, Mrs Besant, who has succeeded in uniting to her views all Indian Home Rulers. Her programme is what is called the "congress and Muslim League Programme". This scheme means that you would have a titular governor general and a titular governor in each province, an Executive Council consisting half of Indian elected and half of Europeans and an elected Provincial Council consisting of some 400 members, who would have the power of the purse, and the right to dictate to the Executive Government on every conceivable subject! If this programme were to be carried out, it means that the Indian Government would be entirely in the hands of a clique of hot-headed Brahmins, who are really the only important section of Indians who desire "Home Rule". "Home Rule is not desired and not even thought about, by ninety percent of the population of India". The danger of introducing the above scheme is too obvious to expatiate upon. Apart from the danger to the future peace and prosperity of India, its injustice strikes even the casual observer as appathing. The release of Mrs.Besant, the centre of this Anti-British revolutionary and suicidal movement, against the edict of the Madras government, was not the first sign of

~~weakness on the part of the~~

of weakness on the part of the government at home. In an Eastern country, any government which shows want of courage, or gives way to a noisy faction, is certain to lose its best supporters and must find itself sooner or later on the road to dissaster".

The Brahmanas are discribed as "the priestly caste", though they know perfectly well that Brahmanas are in all occupations, especially in the law. They are described as the oppressors of the "Untouchables" thought that crime lies chiefly on the high caste non-Brahmans.

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New India,

20th April, 1918.

TANJORE - TRICHINOPOLY CONFERENCE.

Dewan Bahadur C.Karunakara Menon, in his presidential address to the conference under the auspices of the Madras Presidency association remarked that the congress League scheme is "the result of the progressive development of political opinion in the country." He is an old congressman and his remark will, we hope, be borne in mind by those who may now be disposed to give up the position that they had taken up. Another noteworthy sentence in the address is this: "We are aspiring for the political advancement of the Nation as a whole and not of any section of it, and by attacking the scheme presented by the congress and League we are attacking the Keystone of the arch", True, we do not hope that in the crisis we are entering, particularly after the latest pronouncement of the war cabinet regarding Indian political controversies, our leaders, one and all of them, will remember that it is their duty, as trustees of the country, not to enter into any sort of a compromise with anybody which may result in the weakening of the "Keystone". We had no doubt that the President's appeal to all non-Brahmanas to rally to the side of the National Congress and support the National demand will meet with full and enthusiastic response.

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7-5-1918,

New India,

MONTAGU CHELSMFORD REFORMS.

Propaganda.

REFORMS.

The Hon Mr.Asad Ali Khan Bahadur, in his address as President of the Malabar District Conference, held at Tellichery, yesterday, seems to be of two minds. First ignoring the fact that the Delhi War Conference left political propaganda untouched, he gratuitously declared that" we have to suspend all vigelent political propaganda, lest our overzealous activities. But in the course of his address, he discussed "the coming Reforms", and stated that, "if the first stage in the construction of the edifice of responsible Government falls far short of the congress League scheme, then we shall begin to agitate, and agitate in a constitutional manner, and continue to agitate till ~~xix~~ Viceroy crowns our efforts". That is spoken as a good congress-man, but we find it difficult to reconcile it with quotation given above. The Reforms are to be published, it is said, within some two months, and the "present grave crisis" will only be gramer two months hence. It is surely obvious that the publication of the Reforms will invilve discussion, nay, will necessitate it. We have been most unjustly and ~~xx~~ unrighteously ~~defined~~ deprived of the opportunity of laying our case before the British public. ~~Under all these Circumstances to obstain from political propaganda would be madness. If Britain can in the midst of her War preoccupations, draw up a Home Rule Bill for Ireland and submit it to Parliament, she can certainly attend also to Indian Home Rule, and that involves political discussion here.~~

~~So accept the Hon Mr Asad Ali's proposal would be the more unwise, in that the government has not accepted the~~

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The High Court of Parliament is to decide it without hearing the plaintiff's side of the case, while the ears of the Judges have been deafened with the shrill yelpings of the Anti-British Association, representing the defendants, Reuter is likely, as usual, to pervert speeches made here, and letters do not reach their destination. The Censors submarines torperdo our ships of news, and blockade India from the rest of the world. Now and then a blockade runner succeedes in going through, but such success is rare and costly. While a Judge, a dress maker, and many other white skinned persons, men women, are readily granted passports, coloured people may not go. Even Mr.Jinarajadasa, who was brought up and educated by Mr.C.W.Leadbeater - now so ill with heart-disease that he may pass away at any time- and who naturally wishes to see his life-long friend, and also to settle with him their closely interwomen affairs, is refused a passport to Australia, though he is willing to promise to make no political speeches, and the Australian authorities are perfectly ready to admit him. Under all these Circumstances to obstain from political propaganda would be madness. If Britain can in the midst of her War preoccupations, draw up a Home Rule Bill for Ireland and submit it to Parliament, she can certainly attend also to Indian Home Rule, and that involves political discussion here.

To accept the Hon.Mr.Asad Ali's proposal would be the more unwise, in that the government has not accepted the bargain offered to it by the European community here, though the British race does not bargain to cease agitation if the Reforms were put off to the end of the War. Mr.Welbby in fact, is the Prince of Bargainers, only, unfortunately he drives such a hard bargain that the customer approached never accepts it.

that the customer approached never accepts it. The European community will carry on its propaganda here and in England, while we can only carry on ours have under these circumstances, we cannot accept the Hon. Mr. Asad Ali's proposal.

NEW INDIA,

The Provincial Conference. 13th May, 1918.

The Provincial Conference, held at Conjeevaram on May 9,10,11, will stand out in the history of local Conferences as a landmark. For in several ways it was remarkable. It was a story, Conference, resembling an excited political meeting in England rather than the dull, formal, conventional meetings which have hitherto been the fashion here. It was presided over by a woman (Mrs.Sarojini Devi) who at the most critical moment shewed a strength, a firmness, and a courage which no man could have excelled. In both matters, the change augars well for the future, for the first shows that political que tions have gripped the people, while the second marks the coming of a great new force into modern Indian political life - the Indian woman.

The resolution before the Conference, as passed by the subjects committee and placed in Mrs.Annie Besant's hands for proposal, contained a clause taken from the Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee, urging all political organisations to aid in recruitment for Home and Imperial Defence, and especially to enrol youngmen in a Citizen Army for the Defence of the Motherland. Mr.Satyamurti moved the delition of this clause, leaving the resolution as an assurance to the King Emperor that we would do our duty to our utmost capacity', but without definite promise of aid. In fact ~~xxx~~ Mr.Satyamurti in his speech urged that nothing should be~~xxx~~ done until the third part of the resolution was carried out. He further put the whole question in the most unpleasant way, between the old and the young, implying that the 'old' were indifferent to the freedom of the country, and wanted to curry favour with the government.

Exactly this same position was taken in the

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All India Congress Committee. There was no pretence that the appeal would carry the country, if the Government obstinately refused to take steps to establish Indian Freedom, but there was the determination to defend the Motherland, and the Empire in any case. The opposite of this is to refuse to take any part in recruiting or in preparation to defend the soil, no one ventured to say this bluntly, but there is no other alternative. Either we help, or we do not help at once. According to (Satyamurti) the statement that India is in peril of invasion is a "red herring" drawn by the Government across the track, and the "leaders" are either led astrey by it, or deliberately follow it, because they want Government favour well, time will prove who is right and who is wrong in the matter. We, who believe that the soil of the Mother land is in danger, will strive to recruit men for Home and Imperial Defence, and those who believe that there is no German menace will stand aside.

Finally, in the Conference itself, the vote went in favour of omitting the All India Congress/resolution; the losing side demanded a poll, as of right. There was a strong attempt made to prevent the poll, but failed, and a poll was taken, with an equal note on both sides, and one challenged vote. Finally, the challenged vote being asserted and denied with equal vehemence, the President left it as impossible to decide, and gave her casting vote in favour of the All India Congress Committee resolution. Finally it was passed as unanimously passed.

It would be well if the government should note how strong is the feeling in the Madras Presidency against their non-acceptance of the suggestion that they should defenitely proclaim that India, as well as the rest of the world,

should share in the freedom for which the war is said to be waged. Their silence and that of the British Government, together with the rude rejection of the Home Rule ~~Departations~~ deputations, make India feel that, in the end, Britain will regard India as no part of the 'world' whose freedom is to be secured by the war. Such an attitude naturally provokes the answer from the excitable. "If you don't care for our freedom, we don't care for yours"

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20th May, 1918.

THE COMING REFORMS.

All will be well, unless, Mr. Montagu's scheme is inadequate the Indians, despite its inadequacy, accept it. That would be a blow, which would crush our hopes for long. The inadequacy would be a misfortune, but it would not long delay us if we refuse to accept less than the open path to freedom. ~~With~~ Like Britain, we want to fight this great battle for Freedom to a finish, while helping her to win hers. We do not want a new war to begin here against Autocracy a few years hence. And this is inevitable, unless the Government of India is reformed at least to the congress-League Scheme ~~lead,~~ level and an open read is left to complete Responsible government within a few years. The best thing would be to establish complete Responsible Government, in the Provincial and Supreme areas, at the end of the war, leaving India to determine the details. Let the Legislative councils all be elected for three years on a broad representative basis, laid down in the Statute, and leave them to work out the detailed scheme which should take effect at the end of their own term. A Reform Bill for each Province, and one for India as a whole, should be drafted by Indians, including, of course, such Britons as may be elected, or be on the first reformed Executive Councils,. This would be self-Determination, and would succeed.

4631 2309

30th May, 1918.

DOMINIONS AND THE EMPIRE.

The attitude of some of the Dominions in the Empire is woth watching. In India, while our demand for Home Rule or constitutional Reforms is considered to be almost disloyal, the Dominions can claim any position they like. Up till now it has been the privilege of the King to honour worthy citizens with titles. We find now an emphatic protest from the Dominion of Canada against the Conferring of humilitary titles. The Dominions are today claiming their rights to full soverign powers, and insisting on the thorough recognition of their autonomous position in the Empire. Professor Sir John Macdonel speaking in London lad great emphass on this fact and claimed that they, the Dominions, ought to have a hand in the setting of foreign relations. Because they and self-governing it is possible for them to insist on being heard and considered. The position of India should be the same. This country too was not consulted when the great war was declared. But it is asked to make sacrifices. Those will be made, but they will only be made cheerfully when we can ask to be treated on equal terms with the other dominions in the future. India also must be consulted in all matters like the Dominions. But we would have been able to insist on our rights, if we had Home Rule, today we can but agitate.

New India,

3rd June, 1918.

HOME RULE DAY.

We draw the attention of our readers to the celebration of Home Rule day', Sunday, June, 16th and we hope that every District Congress Committee and Branch of the Home Rule Leagues throughout the countyy will immediately begin arrangements for its suitable celebration. In view of the fact that a special meeting of the National Congress is about to be held, a Home Rule day celebration will be a most useful preliminary Demonstrations throughout the country pledging the people unhesitatingly to adhere to the Calcutta Resolution will effectively culminate in a unanimous pronouncement by the special Congress of India's united demand. ~~Present~~ Recent events have shown that our rulers both at home and abroad have not yet been taught, but it has not yet been learned. It must, therefore, be repeated again, and, if necessary, again and again, until it is understood and acted upon. If Mr. Montagu's Reform scheme have unsatisfactory, as is of course Quite likely, considering the influence anayed against the progress of this country, the more of preparation beforehand for the inevitable agitation the better. In any case, the success of the special congress will be far more complete if it manifestly represents the expressed opinions of the masses of the people, as declared throughout the country on Home Rule Day. It is quite clear that unless the Home Ruler speaks for himself, no one else is likely to speak for him. Dr. Nair and his little clique of supporters have the inestimable advantage of cooperation on the part of all who have influence and weild power. The health of Nair is of far greater importance than the health of the Indian Nation, and his reactionary and anti-Imperial agitation has all along been sedulously fostered. He must make up for our lack of influence in high quarters both by vigorous agitation and by active

insistance upon the early group of India's just demand. If our rulers will do for us even one title of that which they are eager to do for our opponents, the agitation for Home Rule might well be diverted into other channels. But God helps those whom others will not help; and for the sake of the safety of the Empire as well for India's own place within it, we must continue to declare that without the promise of freedom for India the security of freedom against the forces of autocracy and tyranny can by no possibility be assured. We urge every Home Ruler to concentrate himself from now upon making Home Rule day, June 16th, a triumphant success as well as a potent object lesson. Let there be no side issues. Let there be one clear and emphatic resolution asserting once again the country's loyal and unwavering adherence to the Calcutta Resolution. Let these resolutions be conveyed to the head of the local Legislature, to the Viceroy, to the Secretary of State, and to the Press. Let men and women alike join in the demonstration, and let Home Rule day be a great recruiting day for the forces of Home Rule for India within the Empire.

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New India,

15th June, 1918.

Sri Subramania Iyer & Montagu.

The extra-ordinary out burst of Mr. Montagu against our revered Sir S. Subramani Iyer can only be regarded, by those who know the facts, as a rather clumsy piece of acting. The letter was in the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy when he came to Madras last December, and it was discussed in the interview between the writer, the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, and discussed so vehemently that people in the passage out side the room heard something of what was passing inside. Mr. Montagu was with the Viceroy then, and remained with him for about four mouths afterwards. Why then should he anounce, in a spasm of simulated indignation, that he was communicating with the Viceroy on the subject? The letter was written in June 1917, and was published in hundreds of American newspapers in the early autum of last year. Why this belated fury? Instead of this pretence, it would be wise if the war cabinet asked themselves why a man of high rank, of the spot less antecedents of Sri Subramanian, was driven to appeal to President Wilson. It might also be well for Mr. Montagu to recall his own description of the Indian Bureaucracy, before he became Secretary of State for India, and to see if it was not as condemnatory as the words of the man be now assails. Of one thing he may feel sure, that insults levelled against their leaders, whose sole crime is that they seek the liberty of their Nation only endears those leaders to their own country-men Anglo-Indian papers may rave and the Bureaucracy may anathematise, but, as in the old fairy tale, the missiles flung at our leaders turn into garlands as they fall on them.

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22nd June, 1918,

OUR COMING STRUGGLE.

The First Step.

According to Reuter's intimation the Scheme of Reforms involved by Mr.Montagu and the Viceroy will be before the public during the next ten days. The main purpose of this early publication is to enable the Indian Public to discuss freely their political future on which their very National existence depends. That free discussion ought to produce fair results, but we doubt very much if such a happy out come will emerge, if the whole discussion is rigidly confined within the boundaries of India. If the Indian views and opinions and criticisms are concerned before they reach the British Democracy, if the public in the united Kingdom is allowed to receive only what the India office, the censorial staff in India and England, and the Reuter Agency with its bias against Indians allow to filter through, if the objections and falsehoods of the unscrupulous Sydenham gang are allowed to circulate and go unassured, because we in India do not know anything about them, if these things take place, then the free discussion will not be of much value.

The very intitial steps seems to us to be fraught with danger to our cause. What steps have we taken to make it quite clear to the British public that Mr.Montagu's scheme, and the procedure adopted in cooking and dishing it up for Public consumption, violate the principle of self determination? The Indian Public has the right to ask why the scheme carefully prepared, thoroughly discussed and accepted by almost the whole country, should not form the basis of discussion. Surely by this time, it has been made abundantly clear what preliminary change in the administration of the country is demanded by the people

of India. The congress League Scheme is the Scheme, and we cannot but regard the way of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State as objectionable in quietly putting aside that scheme, and trying to raise a discussion on one which they have evolved. Of course we proceed on the assumption that the official scheme is different from the Congress League Scheme-but we have now very good reasons to presume this. On the face of it, this line of reasoning seems unimportant, but it seems to us that a vital principle is at stake, and we think it our duty to point out this queer breaking thereof. At every stage the "Self Determination" principle should be applied, and at every turn we must protest where that is ignored. We, in this country, fully know and understand what are the fundamentals of our national demands; but the British public, as a whole, is not cognisant of them.

Next, when the official scheme comes before the country for discussion, the British Public will look forward to the criticisms of the Indian press and publicists.

--...........We recaputulate 1) in raising discussion on the Montagu Chelmsford scheme, our own Congress League Scheme is given a go by, and thereby the principle of self determination is banked. 2) In stopping our deputations from going to great Britain, a grave in-justice is done to us, a wall of seperation is raised between us and the British Democracy, which is the only party from which we could expect justice. Therefore immediate steps should be taken to regain the so called privilege, but really the inherent right, by which we are enabled to deal

deal directly with the British people. We fear the people of India have not fully realised the grave significance of the act which sent our Deputations back to India. Our fundamental right of appeal to, and discussion with, the British people is gone, are we to take this serious loss lying down?

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New India,
19th July, 1918.

Reforms and Results.

MASTERS, TRUSTEES OR SERVANTS.

The spirit of the Montagu Chelmsford Report seeks to perpetrate the Prussian ideal of Government, as we pointed out a few days ago before. We want to examine a little more closely the basis of the scheme propounded by Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford. We want to get at the truth about the actual position of our foreign rulers in the days to come, if the proposals become law. At the present moment the Bureaucracy assures the name of servants, Civil Servants, and the Indians are aware of their civility : but act like our masters, and to justify their autocratic ways they argue that they are trustees, responsible for India, responsible for her poor benighted people, to the Empire and the world. Because of this responsibility Their judgement must prevail and their word obeyed as law.

7 But never mind the past. What is to be in future the position of this coterie of foreigners who live a luxurious life and earn a luxurious wage? The Report indulges in a great deal of talk about Responsible Government and leaves it to the imagination of the reader to gather to whom the new government will be really responsible. We have tried to picture India under the new regime, and whatever we might leave aside about responsible government, we may safely predict that the new government will not be responsible or answerable to the people of the country. The Bureaucracy will not be our servants but will continue to be our masters that much is clear.

Now, it is said, that the present foreign Government cannot rightly part with its power as they are trustees present here to look after their ward- the Indian people- and that it is necessary that they must not

only manage the ward's property- moveable produce or immovable Land- but also manage the ward's education and bring him up to be a good obedient boy. This view is reared on the foundation of colossal conceit, all out come of as colossal an ignorance. Students of Indian history- not of the text looks carefully prepared for our boys- know in what manner the British attained the "Trusteeship" of India. This talk of "Trusteeship" was tolerated in the past because the world was not told that the British people were in favour of observing rigidly treaty obligations, of keeping of self determination. The war brought a new angle of vision to the British as also the Indian people. The trusteeship theory broke down in the light of the very early speeches of Sri Edward Grey and Mr.Asquith, and is now wellnigh aminilated by Mr.Lloyd George, and above all, by President Wilson. The doings of the Germans in Africa, of the Belgiams in the Couge, or the British in India were regarded by educated Indians in Prewar days as on a par with each other, if there was difference, it was one of degree and not of kind. But when the war aims and ideas were clearly proclaimed, the educated Indian began to question the attitude of the bureaucrat the non-official European in India, who still appear to uphold the Trusteeship theory. We pointed out the other day that that form of Government ultimately must be classed as Prussian in nature. President Wilson, who is the greatest exponent of the war aims of the Allies, and whose position is the clearest and whose action is on all fours with his talk has said: "I am one of those who absolutely reject the trustee theory, guardianship theory". Therefore he must reject the Montagu Chelmsford Report which all through perpetrates the undemocratic blunder of upholding this theory. We wonder what opinions would be offered and judgment passed

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on the report, if copies are made available in ~~Britain~~ Berlin. Our friend, the Hon-Mr.V.K.Ramanujachariar, has shown in ~~xn~~ our columns that the machinery of government demised by the Report closely ~~resonables~~ resembles the Prussian ~~xlx~~ doctrine," absolutely rejected by the greatest Democrat of these days. President Wilson. Are Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford so ~~wounded~~ enamoured of Prussian outlook that they seek to copy, in principle and doctrine our enemies. Is it not a triumph of which Germany should be proud that Great Britain, who is her most hatred foe, adopts within her own Kingdom German principles and methods of Government?

The result of these reforms will not alter the fundamental position of to day; the bureaucracts will continue to call themselves our servants while they really rule as our masters, taking for their despotic rule the shelter afforded to them as trustees. So that we ~~should~~ shall be where we are, still exclaiming: "How/long, o Lord, how long".

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New India,

3rd August, 1918.

REFORMS SCHEME.

Under the auspices of the "Swaraja Sangam a meeting was held last evening in the Triplicane Beach to consider the "Reform Scheme". The proceedings were conducted in Tamil.

The chairman briefly explained the object of the meeting, and pointed out that, as it was, if they accepted the Reform scheme, their future condition in the administrative affairs would be worse. The so/called moderate leaders has expressed their opinions in favour of the scheme with modifications, and the whole question would be settled at the special Provincial conference to be held on the following day; unless people agitated in time to get what they wanted in the matter of self government, there would be no chance of having self or responsible government. In this respect they must follow the example of Ireland and see that Home Rule was given to India at least in the distant future.

Mr.S.Satyamurti then addressed the meeting with reference to the Reform scheme, be condemned the action of moderate leaders, and said that these so/called leaders had entirely forgotten the demands of the congress Muslim League scheme Now Sir Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha and other moderates said that the congress League scheme did not contain the elements of responsible government. About 12 years ago Mr Naoroji had declared that Self-government was our goal and the people must achieve it by all constitutional means. One point they must note, the moderate leaders had entirely forgotten that fact that this Reform scheme was silent over the quetion of relieving the poverty of India. Had they taken any steps to think over this question, he asked. He asked the people not t

to accept the scheme blindly in the interests of their future generations and in the interest of our country.

Dr.Rajan next moved the following resolution. "That this meeting of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ citizens of Madras urges that the Madras Special Provincial conference which is to meet tomorrow should unhesitatingly resolve to reject the Montagu Chelmsford scheme as it denies the principle of Self-determination and to press the congress League scheme, by which the country is prepared to stand, inspite of the criticism in the joint Report by all constitutional means."

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New India,
8th August, 1918.

REFORMS.

Dr. Nair Speaks!

As it is only to be expected, Dr. Nair has not wasted a moment to avail himself of the freedom granted him, to give out his opinions on the Reforms. Information wired to us by Reuter says that Dr. Nair spoke on the absence of communal representation as the defect of the scheme, and spoke of the impending tyranny of the Brahmana over the other sections of the population. We can imagine how he must have driven home his point in the usual style of 'Justice' during his regime. We can also imagine how in this way he will poison the English popular mind against India, unhampered by any counter movement. As everyone knows, he is the henchman of the Anglo-Indians and will speak for them in England. Jouranals like the 'Morning Post' will report his speeches under blazing headlines. The war cabinet, if actuated by any sense of justice and decency, ought to have cancelled its orders against the Indian Deputations going to England simultaneously with its concellation of orders against Nair speaking there. But now the case of the Deputation is practically shelved till the united protests from India reach England, and the Government there orders one way or other after the usual dilatory redtape methods are gone through. Till then Dr. Nair will have his say there unchallenged whether has British justice fled? By the by, we are thankful to Dr. Nair for his information that while petitions in favour of the Scheme reach England those against it are kept back. This mean that he will have yet a free run on the ignorance Englishman of Indian affairs.

~~429~~ 44 New India

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PRESS AND ARMY ACTS.

26-9-1918.

The C.I.D. ways.

Our readers will have read in our Yesterday's issue the speech of the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri on the resolution regarding the working of the C.I.D. with mixed feelings of amazement and indignation. Mr. Sastri has narrated a dread tale of his own experiences of the way in which he was shadowed by the C.I.D. Officers, and it is indeed monstrous that even in Simla a C.I.D. official should have had the audacity to treat a friend of a member of the Imperial Legislative Council in the presence of the latter in the manner related by Mr. Sastri. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale has said that the tallest among his countrymen have to bend before the new European experts in this country, but this is even more outrageous that prominent workers in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ political field are subjected to humiliating treatment at the hands of overzealous and stupid underlings of the police. It is also worthy of note that some of the C.I.D. officials at any rate are so much carried away by their enthusiasm that they seem to regard both the "Moderates" and the "Extremists" with the same suspicion. This circumstance also indicates the fact that at least this portion of the Executive machinery cannot therefore regard the "Moderate" section of our public men with any degree of confidence.

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New India,

16th October,,1918.

Rally Round the Reforms.

Those who love and are willing to work for their country should utilise the period which intervenes between the present time and the departure of the Congress League Deputation to Britain to gather together the hosts which must press for the modifications demanded by our Representative assemblies, and for the recognition of India after the war in the reconstruction of the Empire, as an equality with the Self governing Dominions. We have two National Associations with Branches in Madras, the congress and the All India Home Rule League, but we need a defenite propaganda to increase their adherents to work for their objects. Mr.Arundale proposes the formation of a District committee in Madras, as in other towns, and there should be, under this, ward Committees for detailed local propaganda on the lines he suggests. One other organisation, that he will mention tomorrow, is needed for those who cannot afford to pay a subscription, but who would support the work with the weight of their numbers. We have to meet and disapprove the assertion that only the few care about politics in India. The delay in issuing passports may be turned to good account to rallying our hosts and the Reforms.

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18th November, 1918

MR. NORTON ON THE REFORMMS

Mr. Eardley Norton delivered a speech in Coimbatòre recently on "The Armistice and After",. In the course of his address Mr. Norton says that the British Empire has offered to India "Political Freedom, and that, "inspite of murmurs from interested quarters". We are told that the British Empire "treats all its members as brothers". We are afraid we can not swallow this statement, so far as the treatment of India in the past is concerned, and as to the future, well, it remains to be seen. Mr. Norton is, as one would naturally expect, enamoured of the Montagu proposals:"Although the proposals do not go to the fulfilment of all the ambitious put forward, they are a tremendous and enormous advance upon anything that existed at present", but the fact is that practically nothing exists at present. Mr. Norton is on firmer ground when he counsels acceptance of the Scheme. "With such alterations which they could get by the force of their leaders". Mr. Norton, it is interesting to know, does not think the Indian people are fit for self government, and they could not get that all at once". Mr. Norton is sadly fallen away from his past. Of course, Mr. Norton also prophasies that" in a very short time you will have a far larger share of political power than anything which has been offered to you yet".

Mr. Norton wisely pleaded for union among the several sections of the Indian public, be-cause they "should not let the disputes between themselves belittle them in the eyes of their critics.

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New India,
23rd November, 1918.

SPECIAL POWERS.

Reforms Scheme.

Lord Islington again harps upon the great ~~there~~ Theme of the Indian people being entrusted to the hands of the British Bureaucracy in India, and appeals to the vital necessity of securing resonable security to them by the authorities retaining adequate means of copjing with an extroordinary difficult situation." Of course, in the atmosphere of freedom that prevails in England, it would not do brazen facedly to suggest the maintenance of "the entire war Legislation", and so even Lord Islington, who had evinced such an extraordinary coldness about the M.C. Reform scheme, had to ~~xxx~~ be content with a proposed retention of "adequate means". He very clearly refered with approval to the "promptness and decision" Of the Bengal Government, and, because of the existence of "an undercurrent of lawlessness and hostility", he would urge the continuance of a major portion of the War Legislation. Once you give a power into the hands of the Bureaucracy, it so easily gets used to it that it is found almost impossible to take it back again. Of course, being so thoroughly effecient in everything, the Bureaucracy also shows effeciently that there is need for the continuance of such powers. But the idea of the government wanting to continue the war Legislation creates such a terrible picture of the administration being ever at war with the people whom they have to secure, that we trust in the future we shall have no such legislation. What happened at the time of the Seditious meetings Act threatens to repeat itself now, and we are face to face with the permanent addition of all the ~~parties~~ powers of the Star

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Chamber
~~of all the parties of the Star~~ Chamber, and the system of

* letters de cachet' to our criminal law. We must protest against this to the uttermost of our power, and hence the necessity of the Declaration of Rights movement.

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2-12-1918,

<u>The Presidency Association Conference.</u> <u>Madura Riots.</u>

The Presidency association Conference, which met during the last two days, passed a number of important resolutions on current political questions. One of the resolutions carried on the first day, rightly gave expression to public opinion when it demanded that India should be represented at the Peace Conference by "One or more non-official members". The resolution demanding the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the incidents that led to the ~~spooling~~ shooting in Madura and Conjeevaram, is one more evidence of the strength of public opinion in the matter and of the fact that the public have not at all been convinced of the official version and the attitude of the Madras Government to the insistent demand for non-official and public enquiry into the scandal. We however wish the conference had demanded a commission like the one appointed in Calcutta with regard to the recent riots in that place. As regards the personnel, we suggest that the Hon Mr.Venkatapathi Raju, the President of the Conference, Mr.C.Vijayaraghavachariar who has had experience and knowledge of such riots in Salem, a lawyer like Mr.K.Srinivasa Iyengar, who was once a Judge of H.M's Highcourt, and another Gentlemen of military or I.D.F.experience who knows about rules and results of such mobshooting would value a committee in which the public would have entire confidence.

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